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ART. I.—SKETCHES OF A TRAVELER FROM GREECE, CONSTANTINOPLE, ASIA MINOR, SYRIA AND PALESTINE.

III. MODERN ATHENS AND THE MONUMENTS ON THE AKROPOLIS.

[Continued.]

Departure from Malta—Hermit of Cape Malca—The Peiræus in 1834—Removal of the Capital to Athens—Greek Widow and Turkish Ambassador—Biography of Colonel Fabricius—Audience with King Otho—Excursion into northern Greece—Professorship at the Military College—Monuments of Athens—The Theseum—Its history and description—Polychrome ornaments—Sculptures—Ancient Market Place—Ascent to the Castle—The Akropolis—Equestrian Statues—Temple of Victory—Periklean Portals—Interesting Inscriptions—Gothic Tower—Ancient Temples on the Akropolis—Worship of Pallas Athene—The Parthenon—Its Cell—Hypæthral temples—Sculptures and Polychrome decorations—Phidias—Canova—Thorvaldsen—Colossal Ivory Statue of Athene—History of the Parthenon—Its destruction by the Venetians—Its spoliation by the Robber-lord—Its restoration by King Otho—The Erechtheion—Its sculptures and history—The Karyatid Virgins—Lord Byron—General Ghouras—Fete of King Otho—Illumination of the temples and moon light scenery on the Akropolis.

THE PARTHENON.

PARTHENON signifies the Dwelling of the Virgin, of Pallas Athene, the emanation of the divine wisdom of Jove. Every one of the many tribes, who afterwards formed the Greek nation, had one particular deity whom it worshipped as its patron; for, though the Greeks did not conceive the lumi-

nous idea of a personal unity of the Omnipotent Being ruling the world, like the Hebrews, yet so deep was the feeling of divine unity sunk into their hearts, that every tribe and every family, in their practical worship, venerated one only member of the great number of Olympian divinities, and that they ascribed to this tutelar god their own origin through the descent of the demi-gods and heroes.

Thus the Dorians of Sparta had Apollo, the Achæans Neptune, and the Athenians their beautiful Athene, the blue-eyed daughter of Jupiter, and the foster-mother of the hero Erechtheus, the fabulous founder of the Ionian Athens.

Tradition relates her birth as arising in full armor from the father of the universe, and her victorious contest with Neptune about the possession of Attica.

The sea-god struck with his trident the rock, and produced a spring of salt water. Minerva gave the olive-branch, the generous tree, which still to this day is the principal produce of Attica—and her's was the victory.

This curious contest between Neptune and Minerva is represented in splendid colossal statues from the master hand of Phidias, on the western pediment of the Parthenon, while on the eastern was seen the birth of Minerva in the presence of all the gods of Mount Olympus.

The earliest statues of Minerva were made of wood in the rigid Egyptian style, and were placed in wooden sanctuaries. But the Athenians, in their rapid progress toward civilization, soon built a larger temple of yellow lime-stone, ornamented with marble columns and painted in brilliant blue, black, and red colors, without any sculptures.

This temple was called Hekatompedon, being one hundred feet in front and it stood for many centuries on the very site of the present Parthenon, until the great Persian war, in the year 480 before Christ, when it was burnt down and destroyed by Xerxes, the Persian invader.

During our excavations around the temple, several columns from that ancient temple were discovered, deeply sunk into the ground, and at a depth of twenty-five feet, we likewise found large fragments of painted architraves and beams of

burnt wood, which can only be attributed to the old Hekatompedon.

The reader is well acquainted with those beautifully terrible scenes, so powerfully described by Herodotus, which took place here in Athens, when the approach of the hundred thousands of Barbarians was announced to the Athenians. The whole people, men and women, young and old, abandoning the city, the temples of their gods, and the sepulchres of their ancestors, hurried down to the Peiræus to embark on their fleet, while the vain despot of Asia advanced through the solitary streets and his Persians stormed the Akropolis, and transformed the city with all its venerable monuments into a heap of ruins and ashes. Yet the avenging sword of Nemesis already hung suspended over the invaders. They were defeated in the straits of Salamis, and after their total destruction on the glorious plain of Platææ the year following, the joyful Athenians returned in triumph and began immediately to re-build their city.

Themistokles was then their great general and still greater statesman. Being anxious to fortify Athens, he employed all the ruins of the temples and other public buildings in the hurried and rude construction of the city walls, and the traveler may to his astonishment and delight, still at the present day, behold part of the northern wall of the Akropolis composed of immense blocks of marble columns, altars, and architraves, from the old temple of Minerva. These are certainly some of the most interesting relics of antiquity, because they prove so clearly the accuracy of the Historian Thukydides, when he says, that the Athenians, in the great hurry, with which they re-built their walls after the retreat of Xerxes, and while fearing the hostile interference of jealous Sparta, employed promiscuously, columns, statues of Gods and Heroes—in short, every stone from their sanctuaries, on which they could lay their hands.

Only the more solid foundations of the old Hekatompedon remained on the spot, and on them was erected fifty years later, the most magnificent temple of antiquity: the Parthenon still in ruins standing before us.

The celebrated artists, Kallikrates and Iktinos, were the architects; the greatest sculptor of that or any other age, Phidias, obtained the direction of the work.

The soul-stirring eloquence of Perikles excited the enthusiasm of the victorious Athenian republic to undertake the erection of this great national monument, with almost incredible zeal, and finish it in the short period of five years.

Every Athenian citizen, says Plutarch, pressed forward to have his share in the glorious work. The wealthy offered his treasure, the learned his experience, the artist his genius and taste, and the mechanic his strength and the labor of his hands, in order to promote an enterprise so brilliantly carrying out the political views of Pèrikles, who said that the Athenian republic, being completely armed and prepared for war, ought to spend its superfluous wealth on such works as would become eternal monuments of its glory, and during their construction would diffuse universal plenty, and thus while every hand was usefully employed, would the active republic be both embellished and supported by herself. But not only the artists and workmen, no, even the beasts of burden who dragged the immense blocks down from the distant quarries of Mount Pentelikon, received their reward from the noble-minded Athenian people, and it is a beautiful feature in their character, that they decreed: that the fattest pastures around the city should be reserved for those animals which had toiled during the construction of the Parthenon. It is a Doric Temple, with a double row of eight columns in each front and seventeen in each peristyle, in all sixty-four. The height of its fluted columns is thirty-four feet, and their diameter six feet two inches. The full length of the temple is two hundred and twenty-eight feet, its breadth one hundred and two feet, and it stands raised on an immense platform, having three flights of steps all around the building, while its elevation from the platform to the apex of the pediments is sixty-eight feet.

The cell of the temple itself was divided into two compartments; the larger on the east was the *Thalamos* or Virgin Hall, where we still distinguish on the marble pavement the impression of the base, on which stood the colossal ivory statue of the goddess; we likewise see the rills or grooves all along the marble, which were constantly filled with oil, in order to render the atmosphere more humid in that dry and hot climate, and thus hinder the ivory covering of the statue from bursting.

The small western compartment called the *Opisthodomos*, served as the treasury of the republic, and was placed under the immediate protection of the tutular deity of Attica.

A large and precious collection of inscriptions lately discovered among the rubbish, gives the most minute account of the state of this treasury at different periods of Athenian history, and contains a highly curious register of all the precious arms, statues, vases, and other votive offerings, adorning the interior of the sanctuary.

The elegant marble roof of the cell was supported by two rows of slender Doric columns, forming the nave and lateral aisles of the hall. Several of these delicately fluted columns have been found on the clearing away of a small Mosque, which the Turks had built within the temple, after its destruction by the Venetian army; nay, we could still trace on the marble floor, the fastenings of a strong bronze lattice, which closed in the principal nave, and secured the costly statue of the goddess, and the glittering trophies and offerings, adorning the walls, from the sacrilegious hands of the daring Athenian thieves and swindlers, so well known from the lively sketches of Aristophanes.

The whole interior of the Parthenon was desolated by the explosion in 1687, but we are glad to state, that we possess, at least, a highly interesting letter of a French missionary, brother Paul Babin, of an earlier date, in which the astonished Jesuit with admiration exclaims, that this *Heathen* temple in beauty and grandeur surpasses the Santa Sophia in Constantinople—and that even the Chateau of Cardinal Richelieu in France, with all its master-pieces of modern art, presented nothing that could be compared to the magnificent colossal sculptures, adorning the pediments of the temple.*

* Great disputes have lately arisen among the learned and the architects with regard to the construction of the roof of this temple.

A difficult passage of Vitruvius, the Roman author on the architecture of the ancients, seems to mention a distinct class of temples, which he calls hypæthral, or having an opening, *voedijor*, or sky-light in the roof, serving to light up the interior of the cell.

"The Hypæthral temples," says he, "have ten columns at each of their fronts and a double colonnade on each of their flanks, and in the interior a double row of columns standing free from the walls. But the centre is without any covering, and the only entrance is through the large folding doors—*valvee*—from the Pronaos and Pesticum. No temple of this structure," he adds,

These sculptures, of the era of Phidias, decorated the outside of the Parthenon, and consisted in bas-reliefs, in bold reliefs with half figures, and in full round figures of colossal dimensions, all unsurpassed master-pieces of the Athenian chisel.

The principal entrance of the temple being at the Eastern front, the ornamental groups of full, round colossal figures in the Eastern pediment represented the *birth of Minerva*, while that on the West contained the famous *contest between Minerva and Neptune* about the possession of Attica. A highly poetical and fanciful conception, characterizing the Athenian people and the age of Perikles, was embodied in each of these masterly groups, which may be considered as figurative types of the religion and traditions of Attica.

The Eastern pediment was consecrated entirely to religion, representing the assembly of the great Olympian Gods, receiving the Goddess of Wisdom;—the Western, on the contrary, was dedicated to the *local traditions* of Attica, with its local divinities, the river-gods of Ilissos and Kephissos, the founder Kekrops and the Attic heroes, all assisting in the decision of the great contest and the victory of Minerva.

On the East we have Jupiter, the father of gods and men in all his majesty, seated upon his throne as in the centre of the world, between day and night, the beginning and the end, as denoted by the rising and the setting sun. He was surrounded by the Genethlic divinities or those who preside over birth, assisting the father of the universe in producing the di-

"exists in Rome; but in Athens, the temple of the Olympian Jove, and another temple with eight columns in front, are both Hypæthral."

This very indefinite description made the celebrated French author, Quatremere de Quincy, and other architects, suppose that Vitruvius hinted at the Parthenon, this being the only existing temple in Athens with eight columns in front, and they accordingly constructed it with a Hypæthron or a large opening in the middle of the roof. But Prof. Lewis Ross of Halle has lately published an interesting treatise with the somewhat presuming title "Away with all Hypæthral Temples!"—in which he attempts to prove that no such open-roofed temples ever existed, that Vitruvius only mentioned the roofless, and at that time still unfinished Olympeion and other open, roofless sanctuaries; and lastly that this temple with eight columns at Athens, was not the Parthenon on the Akropolis,—but another unfinished temple of Apollo, a ruin from the times of Persistratus. Though the assertion of the learned antiquarian is bold, yet many weighty reasons speak in favor of his hypothesis and the general opinion of the architects in Athens, at present, is, that the Parthenon was completely covered with a marble roof and that the Eastern Cell or Virgin Hall received its light only from portals of the pronaos.

vine Athene, who, rising above the god in all the splendor of her golden armor, filled with her crested helmet the apex of the pediment. Ares, (Mars) the companion of the warlike goddess, and other deities, followed next.

On the right of Jupiter the *Horæ* or Seasons, Eunomia, Dike and Eirene; on the left the *Moiræ* or Fates, Klotho Lachesis and Atropos, thus poetically denoting the rise and progress of life and its decline and consummation.

On the western pediment Athene and Poseidon, (Neptune,) are placed in the centre; the latter was represented as having struck the earth with his trident from which a stream of water is issuing, while the olive tree, the creation and gift of Athene, occupied the space between the contending deities and rose with its branches to the apex of the pediment. The chariot with four beautiful, prancing steeds followed the goddess and was guided by the wingless Victory accompanied by the youthful hero Erichthonios, the leader of the horses. The flanks of the tympanon were then fitted out with the sitting or reclining figures of Kekrops, his wife Aglauros and their daughters. Herse, Aglauros, and Pandrosos; the divinities of the sea—*Thalassa*—and the calm—*Galene*, the river gods Ilissos Kephissos and the beautiful fountain-nymph Kallirrhœ.

The BAS-RELIEFS formed the frieze running along the wall of the cell, on the outside, throughout the entire building for a length of five hundred and twenty feet. It represented the splendid procession of the Athenian citizens, called the Panathenaic Pomp, which, at the term of every fourth year, marched with extraordinary splendor and pageantry toward the temple, to offer sacrifices to the goddess, and to present her with the sacred veil, the rich purple *peplos*, which was suspended before her statue.

Nearly all the marble slabs of the frieze have either been destroyed or broken away by Lord Elgin, and carried to the British Museum in London; only the western front is still in partial preservation and can be enjoyed at its proper place in the soft and mellow light of an Attic sky.

During the excavations, twelve or fourteen other slabs of the frieze, more or less damaged, were dug out of the rubbish,

and so great was the excitement in the city, that King Otho, the court, the ambassadors, and all the foreign artists and amateurs, hurried to the Akropolis to behold and admire those precious relics. Only the Greeks themselves remained busy in their bazars, caring more for their barter and dollars, than for the glory of their forefathers.

For centuries this frieze of the Parthenon was considered as inimitable for perfection and beauty. Canova, the great Italian, gave up the contest, but Albert Thorwaldsen, the Dane, afterwards proved to the world, by his magnificent frieze, representing the triumphal entry of Alexander the Great into Babylon, after the battle of Arbela, that modern artists are again fully equal to the ancients in the arrangement, taste, and execution of bas-reliefs.

Still more interesting are the half figures, in **BOLD RELIEF**, or *alto rilievo*, adorning the metopes, on the entablature of the peristyle, all around the building. A large number still remain on the temple, but the sculptures have been corroded by the north wind. Twenty-five slabs most beautifully preserved, from the southern colonnade, are now in the British Museum. Others have been discovered since in the rubbish, and are now safe both from Turks and Scots.

The metopes represent combats of Centaurs, Amazons, or Persians, against Athenian heroes. But why these wild pictures of war and strife on the peaceful sanctuary of Pallas Athene? What signify those violent crimes of insolent Centaurs on the temple front of a pure virgin goddess?

The victorious heroes are Theseus and his Athenian companions, fighting against savage monsters; it is the struggle of civilization against barbarity and physical force, the worship of the Divine powers against violence and brutish selfishness.

It is Minerva herself, who has taught mankind moderation, and inspired them with harmony and love. She, the mighty goddess, has sent forth Theseus and his heroes to vanquish the monsters, and to lay the foundation of a higher civilization by general security on sea and land.

She has decided the victory of the spiritual being of man over the lawless force of the savage instincts of Nature, here

on the temple represented by the wanton Centaurs and the cruel Amazons. Thus, then, do these magnificent sculptures proclaim the victory of Pallas Athene and the progressing development of her people.

The eighty colossal figures in the two pediments remained in excellent preservation until the seventeenth century. They were not only the most perfect master-pieces of sculpture the world ever saw, but their construction was so wonderfully solid that even the terrible explosion by gunpowder, during the siege in 1687, did only shake, but not destroy them.

After the surrender of the Castle by the Turks, the Venitian General, Count Morisini, desiring to send the victorious Minerva with her chariot and beautiful steeds to Venice, as a proud memorial of his triumph, ordered his engineers to take down the whole splendid group of the centre. Yet the workmen had hardly laid their unskillful hands on the great cornice, when it suddenly gave way, and the entire group, goddess, chariot, horses and heroes, were precipitated from the immense height on the marble pavement below and dashed to pieces. Several broken heads of men and horses, fragments of the olive-tree, and a magnificent bust of Mars, the war-god, together with heaps of sculptured splinters—all excavated on the spot, are now the only melancholy remains which still excite our admiration in the vast depositories of the Akropolis.

Most of the reclining figures in the flanks of the pediments remained in their places until they were carried off in 1802 by the Scottish robber, Lord Elgin—and at this moment, only old Kekrops and his wife are still sitting in the western pediment, looking down upon the revolutions of twenty-three centuries.

The late lamented French Archæologist, Mons. de Letronne, and the celebrated traveler Alphonse Laborde, some years ago announced triumphantly that they had discovered two other beautiful colossal heads, those of the Victory and of Erichthonios, guiding the steeds of Athene; the one in the dark vaults of the Royal Library in Paris, and the other in the store of a merchant in Venice—both now form the most precious sculptures in the immense Museum of the Louvre.

The colossal ivory statue of Minerva was represented in a standing posture in complete armor, with a golden sphinx adorning the crest of her helmet. In the left hand she held the goddess of Victory; in the right the lance. Her height was sixty feet, and her crest must have touched the ceiling of the temple. She wore a golden robe hanging down in deep folds to her feet, for the composition of which Phidias employed the immense sum of forty gold talents, or \$600,000, from the public treasury.

The haughty bearing and the vanity of the matchless artist excited the envy and anger of the fickle Athenian people. Perikles, in vain attempted to defend his friend. Phidias fled from Athens, and took a noble revenge by producing the still more magnificent statue of the Olympian Jove in Elis.

What a wonderful era of genius and art, enjoyed and appreciated by a whole nation, the most civilized of classical antiquity!

But not only was the statue of Minerva so richly ornamented; the same precious metal was profusely employed in the decorations of the sculptures and the glittering shields, which adorned the fazades of the temple. Their relief was set off by the most brilliant colors. Here on the Parthenon, the whole tympanum of the pediments and the ground of the metopes were painted in purple. The triglyphs and the frieze were of a brilliant azure blue, and the peristyle and both the eastern and the western porticoes were richly painted with elegant and fanciful decorations.

At the excavations along the foundations of the temple an endless variety of painted figures in terra cotta, fragments of columns, capitals, and nearly every smaller member of architecture, were discovered, which still retained their original colors, blue, red, deep purple, the brightest ultra marine and a beautiful sea green.

These colors are all metallic, and were applied to the marble by means of a thin coating of wax. This encaustic painting, burnt on the marble by fire, was used by the ancients, in order to give gloss and brilliancy to their decorations, and to preserve them from injury by the air or by moisture.

The ancient paintings on the polished surface of the marble have nearly vanished in the long course of centuries—but nature has retouched them. The marbles of the Akropolis have now taken those burning, those golden hues, which give such an indescribable beauty to the monuments of the south.

The Greeks, in their bright, creative imagination, and in their high sense of beauty, living surrounded by a scenery which nature had touched with the brilliant tints of the rainbow—boldly took up the hint thus given them, and adorned their sanctuaries with bright and glittering colors in perfect harmony with the natural objects around them.

The Goths, the Danes, the Anglo-Saxons, beneath their cold and cloudy sky, could only admire the immense gray and gloomy piles of their churches, the vaulted aisles of their convents, and their turretted and battlemented castles. The Greeks, on the contrary, were fond of light and life; they consecrated darkness and death to the austere deities of the Plutonian regions, and called the furies—the sable sisters of night.

The dazzling light of day—to *aglaon phaos*—surrounded the snowy abode of their Olympian gods, and the magnificent sanctuary of Pallas Athene, here, on her own towering Akropolis. But what signifies an idol surrounded by a kneeling worshipping multitude? Is it not the juvenile creation of man, sprung from his ardent desire to embody in a visible form before his eye, the presence of the invisible Being of the Almighty which he so deeply feels in his heart? The more fervid his imagination, the more vivid his faith in the presence of his Creator, the less he wants to be aroused to devotion by any sensual assistance. The rocky block, the pillar of stone, the gigantic oak tree, call forth his veneration for the Deity. Nay, long centuries after, when the skilful hand of the rapidly advancing Greek race had made their astonishing progress in the arts and comforts of civilized life, had built sanctuaries and temples, they still devoutly and with superstitious awe, continued to venerate the archaic and symbolic forms of their gods in their unwieldy wooden statues.

And it was not until the Periklean era, when the Athenian

art had reached its highest flight, that Phidias, the master mind, took up the bold and brilliant idea, at once, to represent the God-head in the most perfect beauty of the human form—grand, colossal, and adorned by all the splendor and pomp of ivory and gold, of precious stones and glittering vestments. and surrounded by a gorgeous architecture, which combined the whole symbolic representation into one harmonious picture. The supernatural beauty of the virgin goddess, the unrivalled perfection of the temple, the ingenious grouping of the traditions, and of the entire theology of the times—all was then considered a divine revelation by the enraptured people. Nay, Phidias alone, they said, had been called to behold the Olympian ruler of the universe, and no man could then die happy who had not venerated the divine, the inspired productions from his hand.

Such was the belief. And thus the Parthenon, in its unity, represented the whole imaginative theology of the Athenians—it formed a perfect model of art, an epic poem, sculptured in marble, complete and finished like a tragedy of Sophokles, or a hymn of Pindar, sprung from the deepest feelings of the heart and from the highest flight of the imagination.

The glory of the goddess is the theme. On the pediments is the foundation of her worship on earth and her veneration among the gods. On the metopes her victorious progress carrying civilization and happiness among her children. On the frieze she receives her grateful Athenian people, who joyfully approach her sanctuary with hymns and offerings—and within the magnificent vault of the temple, she stands herself, the protectress and guardian of her warlike republic.

Such was the poetic and artistic flight of Athenian religion. But the brooding mind of the philosophers rose above the glittering forms, and they said with a smile, that if Minerva would toss her head on high, the mighty temple would sink into ruins at her feet. And some centuries later, Paul, the divine Apostle of Christ, standing on Mars Hill, revealed to the astonished Sophists, "that the Lord of Heaven and Earth dwelleth not in temples made with human hands."

This thoroughly studied elegance—this extreme solicitude to

improve the effect to the eye, is proper *only* to the Greek race. We look in vain for this perfection of art among the Romans, nor do we find it in our own modern imitations of Grecian architecture, in our churches, banks and city halls, which though handsomely built and of good materials, are unable to convey any adequate idea of the complete harmony and the beautiful effect of the ancient Athenian temples.

An important discovery was made on the Akropolis in the year 1841 by our distinguished friend, Chevalier Edward Schaubert, principal architect to King Otho, which in a remarkable manner proves the accuracy and solicitude of the ancients to augment the effect of their architecture to the eye of the distant observer. This consisted in the *curvature* or inclination of all the lines in the Theseum and Parthenon. Not only do the lines of each column converge from the base of the shaft to the top of the capital—but the *axes* themselves converge also to assist the perspective of elevation. The architraves likewise form a curve and the columns, both of the porticoes and flanks stand in convex lines, contributing, as the architects say, to the beauty of the perspective and the concentrated strength of the structure.

The Greek artist gave a greater bulk to the columns at the angles of the peristyle, not in order to strengthen them, but as Vitruvius says, because these outer columns would appear more slender than they really were, by the effect of the sky seen between them. This perfection of art in its different parts contributed particularly to give grace and elegance to the whole. Great attention was paid to the columns and an extreme care taken by the Attic architects in placing the different *frusta* of the columns. They were polished like a marble-table; two *frusta* were placed the one upon the other, both fastened in the centre by an axis of cedar-wood, round which they were turned. By this continual friction on a fine sand, which was strown in between them, the surfaces of both became so equal and united that the column appeared to be a monolith, or made of one entire stone, and that the most exercised eye hardly can distinguish its joints to this day.*

* A splendid volume on the restoration of the temple of Victory and the

Christianity now began to shed its light over the world ; the Parthenon became consecrated as a Christian church ; and those tasteless Byzantine mosaics, and paintings of the Virgin Mary and the saints, began to cover the walls and ceilings, which, even at the present day, show us the utter degradation of the fine arts during the earlier period of the middle ages.

In the year 1460, the indolent dukes of Athens, the successors of the Crusaders, were inhabiting the towers and temples of the Akropolis, when they heard, with frantic despair, the wild shout of the *Allah Acbar, Allah Kerim*, of thousands of Turkish horsemen galloping through the plain.

The last duke, Franco Acciajuoli, surrendered to the terrible Mohammed, the conqueror of Constantinople, who himself visited the Akropolis, and, struck with admiration at the beauty of the great temple and its sculptures, turned round to his viziers and said, "Not one stone of this sacred mosque of the prophet is to be removed."

Thus the Parthenon, from a church of St. Mary, now became a mosque with soaring minarets, from which the Muezzim five times a day called the Moslemin to prayers—yet not a stone was removed from the Akropolis.

But, alas ! Two centuries later, in 1687, during the siege of the Castle Hill, a Venetian shell, lighting on the temple, at that time used as a powder magazine, blew it up with the greater part of the Turkish garrison.

The explosion was terrific ; and yet, the wonderfully strong building of Kallikrates resisted. Only eight columns on the north, and six on the south, were thrown down, together with their entablature, the roof and the greater part of the cell.

The building was thus split into two distinct parts, while between both remained immense mounds of marble blocks and fragments of the most beautiful sculpture.

The fickle and faithless merchants of Venice soon abandoned

excavations on the Akropolis, with colored plates, has been published in Berlin by the architects Schaubert and Hansen, and edited by the learned Prof. Doctor Lewis Ross. Yet in spite of the important information it contains, which has furnished materials for numerous English and French treatises on architecture and articles in *Reviews*—not a single copy of this work has as yet reached any public library in the United States.

their new conquest. The violence of war had in part ruined the sacred Parthenon, yet many of its superb ornaments still remained untouched—when a far more disgraceful spoliation was to be perpetrated by a British nobleman, in our own enlightened age.

Lord Elgin, the Scot, as British Ambassador in Constantinople, obtained by bribery in the Sultan's Harem, a firman, permitting him to gather some old stones in the Küleh or Castle of Athens. The work of spoliation now began by breaking down the cella wall of the Parthenon with axes and crow-bars, in order to take away the sculptures of the frieze. Lord Elgin or his satellites destroyed the entablatures; they removed the metopes; they disfigured the beautiful Portico of the Erechtheion by breaking down one of the Athenian Virgins; they pulled down the whole monument of Trasyllus, while carrying away the colossal statue of Bacchus; nay, they went so far in this arrogance and insolence, that they excited even the indignation and wrath of the stupid Turks themselves. They attempted in vain to remove the elegant monument of Lysikrates, on the east of the Akropolis, which the Greeks called the lantern of Demosthenes.

When the last metope was broken away from the southwestern corner of the Parthenon, in the effort of removing it, the greater part of the superstructure, with the triglyphs, was hurled down by the workmen of the lord. The Turkish commander, who beheld the destruction of the noble building, took his pipe from his mouth, dropped a tear, and said, in a supplicating tone of voice, to Lusieri, the helpmate of Lord Elgin, in the presence of Lord Byron, "Let there now be an end of this, sir."

The French Ambassador, General Sebastiani, then almighty at Constantinople, took up the gauntlet; and lo! a Tartar comes galloping with the order that the Ingless Effendi should have no more stones from the Küleh!

This timely decree saved the beautiful procession of young Athenian horsemen on the western frieze, while all the other precious marbles having been transported to dark and smoky London, are now placed in the dull and dreary halls of the British Museum, looking gray and colorless, like all the objects around.

During my residence in London some few years ago, my countryman Chevalier Brönsted, who has published the best work ever written on the Akropolis, told me, that one day when he was studying in the British Museum, a bluff-faced citizen's wife from the city of London, who had been looking at the mutilated and headless figures, came up and asked him "if those stones yonder were called the Elgin Marbles, and if it was *for them* that Parliament had paid 50,000 pounds sterling?"

On his answering in the affirmative, the cockney lady broke forth: "Bless my soul! Have we not *living* people enough in this country with broken limbs, legs and arms, and they needs must bring *dead* ones hither from *abroad* and pay such a vast sum of money for them too!"

Since the arrival of king Otho every care has been taken of the Ruins by the Greek government; some four or five columns have already been raised on their bases and we still hope we may all to see the day of the *partial* restoration of the Parthenon.

This, we are happy to say, has already been the case with the third monument of the Akropolis, the Erechtheion or Ionic temple of Minerva Polias.

That small but magnificent building, with its three porticoes, the most perfect model of the Ionic order of architecture, was erected by the Athenians from fear of the wrath of Neptune, the Sea God, for their having chosen Minerva as their patroness.

They, therefore, contrived ingeniously to propitiate the terrible God of the Waters, by consecrating the same temple to him and to Minerva, at the Sepulchre of Kekrops, the king, who had been a witness to the great contest. Thus they built a most beautiful triple temple, richly decorated with paintings, gildings and a vast number of statues, placed on a pediment of black marble. These details are now explained by numerous inscriptions lately discovered and published. Yet, the most interesting part of the Erechtheion is the Portico of the Karyatids, or virgins carrying baskets on their heads, and thus supporting the entablature instead of columns.

The historical origin of the Karyatids is very remarkable. Karyæ was a small town on the northern frontier of Lakonia, the still existing ruins of which we visited in 1843. Its inhabitants being Lakonians, nourished that deep-rooted hatred, to the overbearing Dorians of Sparta, which prompted them, according to the rather doubtful statement of Vitruvius, to conspire with the Persians against the Greeks during the first Persian war.

The Spartans, irritated at their treachery, stormed the city, slew with the sword all the male citizens, and carried off the women as slaves. These elegant female statues were then introduced in architecture as supporters of the architrave and called Karyatids, or women from Karyæ.

This beautiful idea is executed in the most perfect style. The Athenian virgins wear the long, modest Attic dress, holding with one hand their garment, the other hanging down at their side. Of the six, one maiden is now a prisoner in a dark corner of the British Museum.

At the time she was carried away by Lord Elgin, it was a belief among the Athenian women in the city below, that they, during nights, could hear the five remaining sisters weeping and bewailing her loss.

On a marble beam of this monument we still may read the well known lines of Lord Byron :

“ Oh Athens! scarce escaped from Turk and Goth,
Hell sends a paltry Scotchman worse than both !”

The Erechtheion is the only antique building at Athens which suffered during the late war.

Ghouras, the Greek commander of the Akropolis, had placed his beautiful wife and children beneath the northern portico, and had taken the precaution of heaping earth over the marble roof, to prevent the Turkish shells from doing harm.

But during a dark night, when he passed the round among the outposts of the castle, he was shot, and during the confusion the Turks began the fire from all their batteries.

A ball having struck the corner column of the portico, it fell, carrying along with it another column and the whole entablature. Thus the northern side of this splendid building.

sinking down with the shock of earthquake, buried beneath its ruins the unhappy widow of Ghouras and all her children.

From every part of the Akropolis we enjoy the most delightful prospects: northward, the city of Athens, spread out in the plain below; on the east, the great temple-ruins of the Olympian Jove, with the high and picturesque mountains of Pentelikon and Hymettos in the distance; south and west, the sea, the islands of Salamis and Ægina, and the snow-capped ridges of the distant Peloponnesus.

Beautiful as is this grand and classical panorama in the golden light of morning, or in the purple and violet tints of evening, yet the moonlight scenery of the Akropolis is still more impressive.

At the national festival in Athens, in June, 1835, when young king Otho was declared of age, and took the government of Greece into his own hands, the whole city was on the move.

Reviews of the troops, Olympian games of the Greek youths, horse-races and equestrian combats of the Palikars or Greek warriors, throwing the *ferried* or Turkish javelin, had continued during the day in the presence of the King, and the picturesque concourse of the happy, thoughtless multitude, who fancied that the twelve millions of a foreign loan would never be at an end.

At sunset, bonfires were lighted on the Akropolis, and the city was brilliantly illuminated with thousands of lamps, while the Bengal fires from the terrace of the Russian and French embassies threw a dazzling light over the huge masses of the Olympeion and the splendid temple of Theseus.

It had been announced in the programme that the court, the ambassadors, and the high society in Athens, would ascend to the Castle hill, and many picturesque groups of Greek warriors were therefore placed around the bonfires to heighten their wonderful effect.

But the wise and wary ministers of state, and the jovial military men of Bavaria found themselves, in the meantime, so comfortably enjoying the more substantial pleasures of the royal table, and the mass of the Greeks themselves were so busy with their fire-works, with their dancing and carousing in the city below, that the wonders of the Akropolis were entirely forgotten.

Thus, then, it happened, that the two Danish architects and myself, were the only happy mortals who enjoyed the grandest and most brilliant spectacle imagination can conceive.

The first blazing pile had been placed on the north-west, before the entrance to the Propylæa, where it diffused a lurid light over the high pedestal, the columns, the battlements, and the huge Gothic tower of the Crusaders. Albanian warriors, in their snowwhite kilts and glittering arms, with torches in their hands, were wandering up and down the ruinous batteries, every moment changing the light and shades.

It was a warm and lovely summer-night, and high on the pure and dark blue heaven arose the full moon in all her glory. Ascending across the batteries to the interior platform of the castle, we met with several large fires, lighted along the north-west side of the Parthenon, which threw a brilliant glare on the peristyle and the sharp corners of the facade, and made it appear as if old Kekrops and his wife had become animated with life and were saluting us from their exalted throne.

All those numerous unpleasant spots and splinters on the time-worn columns, occasioned by the Turkish balls and shells during the last siege, which, in the day-time, chequer and disfigure the noble front of the temple, had now vanished in the oblique illumination of the brilliant flames, or the mellow moonlight.

Farther on, the gigantic Virgins of the Erechtheion emerged from the deep shade in the combined light of the ruddy fire and the pale moon, as supernatural beings from another world, while in the depth below, the plain, the distant city of Athens, beneath the influence of the illumination, appeared as an immense lake, reflecting the twinkling of the stars above.

We have seen the cupola of St. Peter in Rome, blazing with thousands of lamps. We have seen the vast galleries of the Vatican, with all their statuary lit up by torches, and the huge vaults of the Colliseum, in the glare of the fire piles, become transformed into the infernal circles of Dante. We have, from the summit of Mount Olivet, beheld Jerusalem sleeping in the silgery moon-beams of a Syrian sky, and the Bazars and Mosques of Damascus irradiant with oriental fireworks—all magnificent

sights, never to be forgotten. But none of them can be compared to the inexpressible beauty and the quite marvellous effect of an illumination, combined with the moonlight scenery on the temples of the Akropolis.

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ART. II.—QUESTIONS CONCERNING THE CHURCH.

How is the German Reformed Church related to other Churches?

1. Her relation to the Roman Catholic Church may be compared to the relation of a disobedient child to his unrighteous mother. The child is disobedient, because many erroneous doctrines and dangerous practices of his deluded mother have become apparent to him in the light of the gospel. He feels it his imperative duty to resist her unjust demands; for the mouth of eternal Truth has told him: "*He that loves father or mother more than me, is not worthy of me.*" "*We must obey God rather than men.*" In divine Revelation he has discovered to his soul's rejoicing, that living faith in Christ, worshipping the Father in Spirit and in Truth, and placing oneself under the directing influence of the Holy Ghost, is the only proper and sure way to everlasting life. So it was with our Reformation forefathers. But their mother-Church had constructed a different way of salvation. Not Christ, but the Church was the first and principal object of her faith, and not the Church of our Redeemer in its gospel simplicity, but the Church of Rome with all her corruptions. Whilst the primitive Church fathers justly held that: "*Extra ecclesiam nulla salus,*" (out of the Church there is no salvation,) the Papacy proclaimed and insisted: That: "*Extra ecclesiam romano-Catholicam nulla salus,*" (out of the Roman Catholic Church there is no

salvation.) Thus she inverted the natural order, placing the Romish Church before Christ, and making the individual's salvation dependent upon his obedience to her rules. This unscriptural and false human theory, practically carried out, produced spiritual security and pride, doctrinal and moral degeneration, self-complacency and fanatic exclusiveness, despotic jealousy, hatred and persecution against all that would not readily submit to her authority. In her worship the mother-Church of our Reformation ancestors disregarded the Saviour's declaration, (John 4: 23;) her established forms and ceremonies had reference not only to "Father, Son and Holy Ghost," but first and foremost to St. Mary, and a number of other deified human beings, and they were more fascinating for the senses, than elevating for the spirit. Hence public worship had lost its spirituality and divine character, most of the deluded worshippers being satisfied with a mechanical rotation in this machinery of imposing forms. And no wonder; for the human heart is too prone to substitute the external forms of religion for its real internal life, and to perform a certain number of good works is always much easier than to cultivate the Christian graces. But this system of religious forms and ceremonies in the Papal Church brought her members wholly under the influence of the Pope, which they considered all-sufficient, and thus the directing influence of the Holy Spirit was in most cases neither desired nor obeyed. Such were the prevailing errors at the time when our Reformation Church-fathers commenced their holy work. But their mother-Church would not permit them to pursue and make known the direct gospel road to heaven. She excited all her most powerful sons to commence a persecution against their legitimate brethren, and did not rest until they were forcibly driven away from her communion. Nay more, she even meditated their utter extermination; sanctioned the establishment of that horrible machinery, the Inquisition, and pursued our innocent Reformed brethren with death. In France and other countries thousands have fallen by the bloody hands of Romish assassins. Their blood, like the blood of Abel, cries yet to heaven!

This has been our relation to the Roman Catholic Church in

times past, and this is our relation still. Although it is true, her policy has become more refined, and circumstances have compelled her to put aside, for the time being, the *bloody* Inquisition; but who can vouch that she will never use it again? Her fundamental doctrine of the Church has not been changed, and in accordance with this must be her spirit and practice. Does she not still teach Maryolatry and other saint-worship? Does she not still grant Indulgences for various means? Does she not still make a vast amount of money from poor widows and orphans by the doctrine of "Mass for the dead?" Does she not still make the Church *practically* the all-sufficient mediator between God and man? And does she not still hold and publicly proclaim that Protestant Christians are no better than Jews and Gentiles? Most certainly she does! and the German Reformed Church is fully aware of the fact, and can never look with indifference upon such monstrous errors. True to the essence of Protestantism, namely: "Justification by the merits and sacrifice of Christ, through faith," as taught in her venerable symbol, our Church must protest against the Papacy and all its unscriptural doctrines and soul-deceiving ceremonies, by which the Lord Jesus Christ is *practically* placed in the back ground, and too often lost sight of entirely. But then, occupying this position, can we expect the good will of Rome? No, never! As she has hated us from the beginning, so she must hate us now, and does hate us! She has pursued our Reformed brethren in past ages with bloody persecution, and we have sufficient reason to expect similar treatment in future, circumstances favoring. For there are even now thousands of bitter Bible-haters in the Romish Church, and her Bishops and Priests habitually denounce and condemn "Protestant heretics." Should the Pope so command, this very day our houses would be searched by the ignorant masses of his subjects, and the Bibles discovered would be committed to the flames, even if the poor zealots must perish in the attempt. So deeply rooted is his authority in the hearts of his people. Therefore we say, that the relation of the German Reformed Church to Rome has been, and ever must be like the relation of a disobedient child to its unrighteous mother.

But this relation does not justify us to return evil for evil, hatred for hatred and persecution for persecution, which would indeed place us on the same level with our enemy. As faithful soldiers of the Cross, we are bound to use the sword of the Spirit diligently against all error; but the mouth of heavenly wisdom has also instructed us to exercise forbearance and mercy, and to pray for those that persecute us for his name's sake, according to our divine Master's example. Hence our Church, founded upon the Prophets and Apostles, with Christ her chief corner-stone, is conscientiously and determinately opposed to all the dangerous errors of the old "mother-Church," and must forever protest against them; but her gospel wisdom does not allow her to engage in groundless accusations and angry denunciations, much less in the use of violent *offensive* means: which is always more injurious to the noble cause of Protestantism than beneficial. It is her sacred duty, not to fill her members with blind prejudice, by feeding them with the *black* pages of history; but to fill their hearts with the love of God, by pasturing them upon the ever green fields of gospel truth, in order that they may become rich in grace and in the knowledge of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ.

2. Our relation to the Episcopal Church is very much similar to the relation of the people to the aristocracy. Although both are Protestant denominations, based for their origin upon the same existing causes in the wretched condition of the old "mother-Church," and as such they are animated by kindred feelings and motives, with the same object, (the glory of God and the salvation of sinners,) in view; yet the sympathy and friendship between them have ever been rendered inactive by the exclusive element of high-toned Episcopacy. And this characteristic element, with its large ingredient of self-partiality, will keep our Church, and all other religious bodies of a presbyterian cast, always at a respectful distance. Also in her strong features of a traditionary character, the Episcopal Church differs materially from ours, which is predominantly scriptural, and this striking difference is apparent even in the very origin of these two denominations. Whilst our Church in Germany employed Kings and Princes as mere instruments to

accomplish her establishment, and cast off the cumbrous forms of Romanism, preferring to let her new life develop its own suitable forms; in England it was the King, induced and urged on by Parliament, who constructed his own Church, using the gospel ministers only as means for this object, and he retained the doctrines and ceremonies of Rome almost without exception or alteration. Therefore it was indeed the King's Church, and "Parliament declared Henry VIII, and his heirs to be the principal heads of the Church of England." Great improvements took place during the reign of Edward VI, but the Episcopal High Church system, with all its forms, was retained, and became afterwards fully established under the direction of Queen Elizabeth, all Presbyterian and Puritan protestation and opposition against it notwithstanding.

The German Reformed Church is not ignorant of the efficiency and advantages of the Episcopal system; but her eyes are also open to the great dangers of soul-deceiving formality connected with it. In the High Church we have before us not only the evidences of a Romanizing tendency in theory and views, but also the ripe fruit of its practical operation, which has delighted the Papacy more than once. Speaking on this subject, an able and worthy Episcopal minister remarks: "After all their indignant denials of the tendency of their views to Popery, they have had the chagrin of seeing many of their number steadily developing, until inconsistency was stretched into downright duplicity, and they could no longer, with any semblance of honesty, remain even nominally Protestants." And then looking back about thirty years to the past, we find the Church of England, to a lamentable extent, in a state of spiritual slumber, beneath the soothing cover of her beautiful forms and ceremonies, from which she was afterwards aroused again by the loud voice and hard pushes of Methodism.

In view of this strong tendency to Romanism and cold formality, the German Reformed people could never make common cause with the Episcopal system, even if that Church should lay aside her self-partiality and condescend to recognize them as legitimate brethren. But on the other hand we cheerfully acknowledge also the truly evangelical spirit which is so ac-

tively at work in the Episcopal Church, throughout her borders, especially among the Low Church party. Not only are they fully aware of the dangerous position of their "High Church brethren," but their voice of warning and earnest admonition has also often been heard, and they evidently cultivate a spirit of Christian liberality toward other denominations. Their commendable zeal in the extension of Christ's kingdom is manifest in their successful Home and Foreign Missionary operations. There seems to be at work also among the Low Church people, an earnest desire to cast off the stiff formality of their system, to facilitate their labor and insure greater success. Hence the change that has lately been made in their "Canons respecting deacons, and the election and institution of ministers." We look upon this new measure with great favor, because it gives us some hope that in the course of time the Episcopal Church may be led to break down her own partition wall of High Church exclusiveness. Till then we wish her God speed. May her great Theologians be guided by the Holy Spirit, not to look so much to the Pope nor to the Queen, but to Christ, the true and only head of the Church.

3. *Our relation to the Lutheran Church.*

Our relation to the Melancthonian Lutheran Church is like the relation between two sisters, and very appropriately have these two denominations been compared to Mary and Martha. The Lutheran Church, like busy Martha, has been ever on her feet, running from kitchen to cellar, and from cellar to garret in her house of religious and theological science, to serve the Lord and make him feel comfortable; whilst our Church, like gentle Mary, has always preferred sitting at the feet of Christ to delight her soul with the words of life dropping from his holy lips. Hence the Lutheran Church has collected and produced such a superabundance of every kind of religious, theological and literary works, whilst our Church has accomplished comparatively little in this respect. And busy Martha knows it but too well that she has done so much; for she proclaims it loudly, at the same time complaining of poor Mary's indolence and insignificance. But Mary feels satisfied with the treasures of divine grace in the rich provision store of her Lord, and if

she should occasionally be in want of a little dogmatical spice or liturgical assistance, this she can always find at sister Martha's literary store-house.

The sisterly relation between these two denominations, caused them also to cultivate genuine Christian friendship and to labor hand in hand and shoulder to shoulder in the vineyard of their divine Master. But this happy relation, which had lasted so many years, was greatly disturbed by the unfortunate appearance of the Form of Concord in 1577. The rigid, hostile element of the fanatic Flacius, found in this document, forced the two sister Churches asunder, and this same element has ever since rendered it impossible to effect a thorough and lasting re-union.

The true gospel spirit of peace, so largely imbibed by the German Reformed Church, has prompted her from time to time to make vigorous efforts in behalf of Church-union; for she is fully conscious of the fact, that the Church of Christ must be one, and that her members must be influenced and directed by one spirit, in order to become firmly united in the bonds of Christian love. Therefore she has prayed and labored zealously to remove the separation between herself and the Lutheran Church, and the pages of history furnish abundant evidence that our Church has been willing and able to bring great sacrifices upon the altar of this noble cause. To her pacific spirit and generous disposition the united Church of Germany owes, to a great extent, its origin and existence. For it is a fact that nearly the whole German Reformed Church in that country had been swallowed up by the united Church, until the year 1848, when the uncharitable, hostile spirit of old Lutheranism renewed its attacks upon the Church union, and compelled the German Reformed people to rally around their standard and gather themselves together again as a distinct religious body. But by far the greater number of our people in Germany are still in union with the milder Melancthonian Lutherans, who together constitute the Evangelical Church.

The earnest longing of our people after an intimate connection with their Lutheran brethren has been strikingly exemplified by the German Reformed congregations of Bremen. As

we have stated before, all the Protestant Churches in that city had become German Reformed, with the exception of but one; yet our people made the generous proposition to that one Lutheran congregation, to station a Lutheran minister in each of their congregations, provided they would admit a Reformed pastor into their church, in order that in this way all the citizens might gradually become one in faith. The proposition was accepted; a day for the celebration of the union set apart, and the primarius of the four Lutheran ministers was chosen to preach the union sermon. When the hopeful day had at length arrived, the whole city was in motion, and long before the hour of service the largest church was crowded full of people, all anxious to take part in the great festival. The preacher mounted the pulpit, and all eyes were directed to him in silence, to catch every word of the glad tidings he had agreed to proclaim. But how great was the astonishment among that vast assembly, when he commenced, in real Flacian style, to preach a severe sermon against the union and against the whole German Reformed Church! This trick might have justly provoked our German Reformed people to anger and opposition; but it did not. They only pitied the man, and felt grieved on account of the sad consequences. To heap coals of fire upon the head of this preacher, they stationed Lutheran ministers in their churches, and in this way proved also their Christian integrity and honest zeal in the noble cause they advocated.

The same pacific spirit and earnest desire to live in close connection with the Lutheran Church, has been manifested repeatedly also by our people in this country. Liberal propositions for a closer union have been made by them, but the Lutheran professors and ministers have rejected them. And now, since the old Flacian element has been transplanted to this country, our hope for a closer union is growing very feeble indeed. For this exclusive element assumes the form of religious warfare, wherever it exists, and in real Popish style, it condemns all beyond its own sphere, as experience abundantly teaches. Hence it is to be feared that these two sister Churches of the Reformation will only be driven further apart. The Lord grant that it may be different. But whatever may be

the result, our Church is too firmly established in the Gospel of Jesus Christ to lose her generous spirit. She will continue, with the help of the Lord, to cultivate peace with all Christians, and especially with her dear sister Martha, the Melancthonian Lutheran Church.

4. The relation of our Church to the different other Reformed denominations, is like the relation of one member of a family to the rest, and she has always endeavored to render herself worthy of their sympathy and Christian fellowship. The powerful and happy influence of the great Reformer, Calvin, constitutes the family element by which the different branches of the Reformed Church are drawn and kept together, and also distinguished from the Lutheran Church. But the use of different languages, national peculiarities and local distances, have ever rendered the cultivation of their family communion difficult, and hence each branch has again its individual peculiarities, in which it conscientiously differs more or less from all the rest. Besides, we have seen already that in our Church Calvin's influence was greatly modified by Melancthon, which has not been the case, to such an extent, in our Reformed sister-Churches. With the exception of the Swiss Church, they all originated in the strong element of high Calvinism, and that they have moved steadily along in this element, is a well known fact of history.

John Knox, the celebrated Reformer of Scotland, was a pupil of Calvin, whose doctrinal views he adopted in full, and in establishing the Church of Scotland, he patterned exclusively after Calvin's Church at Geneva, which he believed to be a better institution than any that had existed since the days of the Apostles. His work, though extremely radical in some respects, was nevertheless owned and blessed by the great head of the Church, as the wonderful success of his labors abundantly proves. The happy result of the Scotch Reformation has always been an object of admiration and much pleasure to the German Reformed Church, and our prayers for its abundant success have often ascended to a throne of grace. We feel that its interest is our interest, and our success depends to a great extent upon its success. For these two branches of

the Reformed Church are evidently the same substantially, or in first principles, although they have always differed in the manner in which those principles are developed. The leading difference between them has grown out of the doctrine of predestination and a limited atonement, as held by the Church of Scotland, which, *in their sense*, has never been accepted by the German Reformed Church. And that their extreme Calvinistic views on these important subjects are not sound, and can therefore not be successfully maintained, is evident from the disastrous split, caused by them in the Presbyterian Church of this country. The New School has abandoned these extreme views entirely, whilst the Old School has become much more cautious in handling them, and we can say, therefore, that in this respect the whole Presbyterian Church has come nearer to our doctrine. And since both denominations have met on this continent, the difference in language is no longer an obstacle to the cultivation of their acquaintance and fellowship. But the original distinctive characteristics of these two Churches are still retained and propagated, each trying to fulfill her mission in her own way according to the best of her ability. And we wish them success, although it would be glorious if both could work hand in hand, especially in their missionary operations; but this is rendered difficult and almost impossible by the difference in their views of the Church, and by their different systems of churchly training. Therefore our earnest wish and prayer is, that the Lord may continue to bless them richly in their important missions, as he has done hitherto.

5. Our relation to the Dutch Reformed Church was characterized, at the time of the Reformation in Holland, by brotherly love and heartfelt sympathy. And this was very natural and proper, because her original membership was composed of Calvinists, German Reformed and Lutherans, that had been hunted and driven by Papal persecution from place to place, until they found a home of religious freedom in Holland, which was then an open asylum for all persecuted Protestants. There our brethren from France, Germany, Switzerland and other countries were privileged to worship God the Father in Spirit and in Truth "according to the dictates of their conscience,"

and our German Reformed Zion was deeply interested in their spiritual welfare. This is evident from the sincere and heartfelt prayers in some of our older Liturgies, that were offered up every Sabbath day by the different German Reformed congregations in behalf of their oppressed brethren in France, Holland and all other countries. Among the different elements of the Reformation, that were thus carried into Holland, Calvinism was by far the strongest, and the advocates of this element in the propagation of their faith, were animated by a zeal that outrivalled all the rest. Hence it is that Calvinism became so extensively and deeply rooted in the Holland nation, of which all her numerous theological productions, more or less, furnish abundant evidences. And in this prominent feature we discover a considerable shade of difference between the Dutch Reformed Church and ours. It is true indeed that the Church of Holland has officially adopted the Heidelberg Catechism as a doctrinal platform and guide, and she has practically used and expounded its contents with greater faithfulness and zeal, perhaps, than even the German Reformed Church, its own mother. But the spirit and manner in which this has been done, differs considerably from that of our Church. In examining some of the principal expositions of the Heidelberg Catechism, in sermons and commentaries by Holland writers, it will be found that in most instances they have not adapted their peculiar views to the Catechism, but the Catechism to their views. Strong Calvinism is perceptible everywhere, both in ministers and people, in theory and practice, and some of the positions assumed by the Church of Holland in former years, have been considered wrong and untenable by our Church, and were therefore rejected. This was the case, for instance, with the famous Articles of Dort, which the German Reformed Church, as a body, felt it impossible to accept. Even the German delegates to that Synod, where those Articles were constituted a law, could not subscribe to them. After their return home, the delegate from Bremen exclaimed: "O Dort, Dort, I wish that I had never seen thee." The Articles met with strong opposition from English, German and other foreign delegates, but the Dutch were by far the strong-

est in number and zeal for their favorite views, and hence they overruled them. Therefore the transactions of that ecclesiastical body, performed in such a rigoristic and exclusive spirit, created considerable dissatisfaction in many sections of the German Reformed Church. Kindler, a prominent minister of our Church in the old country, considers the Articles of Dort a yoke of conscience, fully as heavy for the German Reformed, as the Form of Concord, with its Ubiquity, is for the Melancthonian Lutherans. This difference between the two denominations, in their spirit and doctrinal views, honesty requires us to acknowledge and make known to our people, as long as it is permitted to exist. But this should not be done for the sake of separation; it should not prevent us from the exercise of brotherly love and sympathy, and we can state with pleasure, that in many respects these two individual branches of the great Reformation family have labored hand in hand in the cause of Christ ever since the bright morning of the Reformation. Notwithstanding their separation in the old country by different nationalities and language, they have in common cultivated a large and important field in their Master's vineyard, and to this day there are many congregations jointly served by Reformed ministers of Germany and Holland. And this united ministration seems to have enjoyed the blessing of God in a special manner; for it is a remarkable fact that such congregations as a general thing give better evidences of genuine Christianity than many others that are exclusively Holland. For it is well known, that the Dutch Reformed Church in the old country had cradled herself into a spiritual slumber by the clock movements of her *doctrinal formalism*, from which she has lately been extensively aroused again by the strong secessions in her own bosom, of Koxians, Baptists and others. This has compelled our Dutch brethren to lay aside a considerable portion of their inherited peculiarity; so that now our Church in the old world has ground for strong hopes of a more intimate union with them, which has also already begun to manifest itself in various ways. May the Lord grant the increase to this desirable object!

In this country the relation between these two religious bod-

ies has varied considerably. When they first met here, weak, poor and dependant on each other for assistance, and no longer separated by the difference in language, they greeted each other as brethren in Christ, and appeared to be almost entirely united in spirit and aim. The great missionary work before them happily occupied their minds to such an extent that the existing difference in doctrinal views could have received little or no attention. Both standing on the common platform of the Heidelberg Catechism, there was no doubt and contention about their orthodoxy. But that blessed time has, alas, passed away, and the former intimate relation has been greatly disturbed by the introduction of foreign elements into both branches. Whilst our Church, under the desperate attacks of sectarianism in many places, was frightened away from the use of her venerable symbol, and consequently grew weak and became actually diseased in many of her members, (from which she has, thank God, now almost entirely recovered;) the Reformed Dutch Church, under the imposing, powerful influence of New England Puritanism has gradually lost her historical identity in spirit and views, and even her family name is sought to be cut off by the strange spirit now reigning in her midst. This has separated the two children of the Reformation, and the distance between them has been sadly increased by the instrumentality of individual peculiarities and misunderstanding. Some of the leading minds in our Dutch sister have carried her up to an elevation of imaginary orthodoxy, from which *they* are pleased to look down upon us in pity, as a Church unworthy even of their correspondence. It would be well for them to meditate on Matth. 7: 1-5. But may God in mercy not deal with them according to these words. We have a strong faith in divine Providence, and feel assured that in the end all will work for our good. Although we are at present not able to work together, yet each Church has a large field to cultivate, and we are happy to know that both are now actively engaged. It would be well, however, if the Dutch Reformed Church would not draw away so many of our ministers, and cultivate our field for herself, whilst she leaves her own brethren from Holland, here and in other places, to the mercy of the Baptists.

6. Our relation to the French, Swiss, Hungarian and other Reformed Churches, though not so intimate, has yet been characterized by deep reciprocal interest. The leading practical tendency in all the different branches of the Reformed Church, to a thorough life-reformation, in thought, word and action; a tendency to convert the whole man into a living Gospel, has ever manifested itself as the motive power of their spiritual correspondence. Urged on by this inborn tendency, and animated by the principle of Christian fellowship; the lines of distinction now and then strikingly exhibited by individual deep coloring of their respective doctrinal views, have formed no effectual barrier to the exercise and interchange of mutual sympathy. And notwithstanding the great difference in country, language, national peculiarities, etc., that has separated them externally, they have ever felt and acknowledged their most intimate spiritual relation, and the cementing power of the Holy Spirit has always drawn and kept them together. One spirit, one faith, one baptism, one God and Father over them all, has presided and ruled in their midst, and the noblest purpose of their Christian activity has been the upbuilding of Christ's kingdom in the hearts of poor sinners, after which they have aspired individually and collectively. Our German Reformed ministers and missionaries have labored, and are still laboring in France, England, Hungary, Italy, Russia, etc., and wherever they have succeeded in raising the victorious banner of the cross, there superstition and infidelity have been put to shame, the Lord in grace blessing their ministry to the conversion and salvation of many immortal souls.

It must be acknowledged, however, that, in consequence of the great distance and other obstacles that formerly rendered a free interchange of sentiments exceedingly difficult, and in some instances almost impossible, the union between the different branches of the Reformed Church has hitherto been far from being complete. But these difficulties have already been greatly reduced by the rapid progress of science and the arts, and especially by their application to national, political and commercial intercourse. Steamships, rail-roads, telegraphs, all are instruments in the hands of an allwise Providence, not

only to extend the kingdom of Christ into distant countries, but also to bring the faithful into closer union and communion with each other. And then, as the Lord has to our knowledge often brought good out of evil, so also the unfortunate revolution of 1848 has aroused the Reformed denominations in the old country to increased activity, and they are now earnestly endeavoring in various ways to establish a more intimate acquaintance. The happy results of their noble efforts in this direction are already very encouraging. Many important facts, cheering to the heart of every Reformed Christian, are thereby brought to light, which must otherwise have remained unknown. Who would not rejoice, for instance, in the "glad tidings," that there are 1,600,000 people in Hungary, belonging to the Reformed Church, and sympathizing earnestly with their Reformed brethren in Germany, France, Holland and wherever they may be found. And how very encouraging to us all is the happy intelligence, lately received from our Reformed brethren in France, informing us of the great success of their labors in various parts, and that in one of their schools religious instruction is given to five hundred children of Catholic parents.

In view of these blessed results who would not pray and labor with all Christian sincerity for a closer union between the different branches of the Reformed Churches, both in Europe and America? And have we not abundant reason to believe that the Lord in his loving kindness will hear our prayers and bless our labors for the accomplishment of so desirable an object? Verily the way is open, and the different Reformed Churches of Europe have already joined hands in the bonds of Christian fellowship. The voice of their fathers, who died as martyrs in the cause of Christ, and sealed their Reformed faith with their hearts' blood, is again rising up from the tombs, and admonishing them earnestly not to be weakened by dogmatical disputes, but to love one another as brethren in Christ, as children of one father, as heirs of one heavenly kingdom, and to be faithful in their Christian calling and profession until death! Shall not also we, their children in this new land of promise, lay their admonition to heart, and cheerfully extend

the hand of fellowship to our brethren beyond the great deep? What is there that should prevent us from cultivating the most intimate acquaintance with all our Reformed brethren in every part of the world? If the love of worldly gain is strong enough to break down the walls of China, and to conquer the fortress of Japanese prejudice, should not the love of God, shed abroad in our hearts, be strong enough to remove the imaginary mountain of doctrinal differences, and to conquer all the non-essential causes of separation between the different members of one great family of God?

7. *Our relation to the Methodist Church.*

The relation of our Church to Methodism in years past, has not been so friendly as it might, and perhaps ought to have been. The principal cause of the discrepance between us originated from misunderstanding on both sides. In her youthful, inexperienced enthusiasm, the Methodist Church, in many respects, set her claims far too high, and many of the zealous advocates of her new and singular operation brought extravagant charges against all the Churches of the Reformation, and made hostile attacks on their educated ministers. That there was abundant reason for complaint about the formal and sad condition to which many old congregations had been reduced by the indifferent preaching of their learned pastors, must be conceded by all who are acquainted with the state of Protestantism at that time. But then those Methodist ministers, in their prejudiced zeal against the existing evils, went a great deal too far. The principal object of their attacks was evidently, not to arouse those congregations from their spiritual slumber, by infusing new life into their members; but to break them down if possible, by taking away from them all the material available for the construction of Methodist congregations on their ruins. That such unjust proceedings caused ill feeling and awakened strong prejudice against Methodism, is not at all surprising, and no wonder that in many sections of our Church hostile opposition was the result. If Methodist ministers everywhere had gone to work cautiously, in a spirit of Christian forbearance, without so much of ignorant prejudice against the existing Churches, and had they tried in a kind

manner, to expose and correct the errors and dangers of many pastors and their congregations, we feel confident that their labor would have been much better appreciated, and whilst in this way they could have accomplished a great deal more real and lasting good, it would also have resulted in a more friendly relation between them and us.

Again, another cause of the discrepancy between us has arisen from the unrighteous warfare, carried on by Methodist ministers against our venerable Catechism and against catechetical instruction. Instead of confining their censure to the *abuse* of these subjects, for which no one could have blamed them, they pronounced wholesale condemnation against the entire use of them, which was both wrong and very provoking. The same can be said in regard to some of our doctrines, confirmation, mode of worship, and many other important matters, which received the most insulting treatment from Methodist ministers in former years. And then the fanatical, disorderly and sometimes boisterous manner in which Methodist congregations formerly conducted their public worship, appeared to our people neither scriptural nor churchly, and hence they felt it their duty to disapprove and oppose it, in which they were also entirely justifiable, as is now fully proven by the fact, that many of those very Methodist congregations, having seen their error, have long since abandoned the original disorderly mode of their worship. A grave misapprehension of the true worship in the New Testament sense was the ground, in many instances, of their objectionable fanatical proceedings.

But on the other hand, many of our ministers and congregations committed a great mistake in not acknowledging freely and trying to correct the dangerous errors into which they had fallen. This should have been done even before a judging Providence sent those preachers of repentance, "of hell and damnation" into their midst. If such had been the case, and they had gone to work energetically in the performance of their sacred duties, according to the spirit and the precepts of the gospel, there would have been no real ground for complaint, and Methodism could have done them no harm. On the contrary, its soul-stirring operations must have resulted in their

benefit. Instead of this, they folded their arms complacently, crying peace, peace, in the very face of war, and trying to make the world believe that all was right with them, even whilst the storm was already fast approaching, that should arouse them from their dangerous slumber of spiritual indifference. Hence the great consternation and confusion! Hence those fiery contentions, and hence the many captives taken from our ranks by the "enemy."

The opinion formerly entertained by many, that the relation of the Reformed Churches to Methodism was like the relation of Truth to Error, must be abandoned as groundless and false. In the first place the Reformed Churches have never seen the day yet, when they could boast of freedom from error, so as to justify a comparison to Truth. On mere churchly or traditional ground such a presumption of purity and infallibility might be maintained, as it is actually the case; but does not history and our own observation convince us that much of the theory and practice, *considered churchly*, turns black and abominable as soon as the brilliant light of *divine Truth* falls upon it? And must we not in honesty confess the sad fact, that before the rise of Methodism, genuine practical Christianity in the Protestant Church was greatly encumbered by the extensive reign of doctrinal formality and selfish indifference? The old Churches had become untrue to their divine principles, and hence the performance of their sacred duties, at home and abroad, was sadly neglected. A true revival had become indispensably necessary.

In the second place, Methodism was indeed neither a product nor the embodiment of religious error. Although in her starting movements the Methodist Church acted certainly *unchurchly*, according to the established orthodoxy; does that prove that she acted also *unchristian*? It is true she modified the *forms* in which the doctrines of Christianity had been held by the old Churches, but in doing so she did not reject or suppress any of the doctrines themselves. The divine plan of salvation, together with the established means of grace was evidently kept before her eyes, and accordingly, in her own way, she has labored zealously to make known this salva-

tion and to bring the means of grace within the reach of as many immortal souls as possible. But in adapting the Bible doctrines to her peculiar spirit and system of operation she has certainly committed grievous errors, both in theory and practice ; because in her forgetful enthusiasm, Anthropology, Psychology and Moral Philosophy, the indispensable groundwork of a sound Theology, received very little attention, and consequently her Theology must be defective. This has been illustrated most forcibly in the case of many Methodist ministers, by their liberal and violent denunciations against an educated ministry and existing institutions ; by their strange and oftentimes ridiculous conduct at public worship ; by their vehement delivery of unscriptural and dangerous doctrinal views, etc., which has created much ill feeling and opposition on the one hand, and great confusion and errors on the other.

In some sections Arminianism of the strongest kind has been promulgated by them, mixed even with Pelagianism, which has left many "church people" under the firm impression that the whole Methodist Church lives and moves in the element of Arminianism. But this is a mistake ; for in her Articles of faith she teaches plainly that by nature we are corrupt and constantly inclined to do evil, and that by our natural power we are unable to exercise faith, and unfit to worship God, and that the grace of God in Christ must cause us to will and to do what is good and pleasing in his sight. Again, the "doctrine of sinless perfection" has in many sections been advocated zealously by Methodist ministers, by which they have caused much confusion and given great offence to the "church people," and also this unfortunate, erroneous notion has been blamed upon the whole Methodist Church. But in her "Articles of Faith," XII, she teaches that *"those are to be rejected who assert that they cannot sin any more as long as they live here."* We consider it wrong, therefore, to blame the whole "Society" for erroneous views and consequent mischief produced by individual ministers. In examining the various doctrines of the Methodist Church, as laid down in her book of Discipline, it will be found that they do not materially differ from ours. The difference between us consists mostly in par-

ticular views that have arisen principally from the external, *temporary* appendages of the "Anxious bench system," by which catechetical instruction and proper religious training, as held and practiced in our Church, had not only been undervalued, but suppressed and shamefully denounced. If this system, which is now fortunately sinking fast, has once been entirely removed, the principal partition wall of prejudice between us will also be gone, and we will then be able to meet and shake hands with our Methodist brethren in the true spirit of Christian fellowship. God speed the time! Should any one ask, why the doctrines of Methodism have so often been misrepresented, and why many pernicious heretical notions have been promulgated from that source, causing confusion and strife, the simple answer is: Because in former times the great majority of Methodist ministers, not having enjoyed a proper education, and often blindfolded by an inordinate zeal, were unable properly to comprehend the sense and meaning of their own doctrines, and could of course not appreciate the order and institutions of the Reformed Churches. It was a misapprehension of the stated means of grace, which led the Methodist Church to place far too much, and groundless confidence in the special operation of the Holy Spirit, thereby undervaluing the importance of religious training and theological education. Whilst we, therefore, do not blame her for the mistakes and errors committed by individual ministers, we still must blame her for cherishing so irrational and defective a system, and for the silent consent with which she looked upon the distortion and misrepresentations of her own doctrines.

We have reason to hope, however, that ere long all those evils will be more or less corrected. For Methodism is not like other sects that live by mere negation, a shame to themselves and a curse to Christianity, and that are destined to perish by the inborn principle of self-destruction. The Methodist Church is animated by a *churchly*, religious principle. She must be considered as a churchly individuality, a particular and peculiar representative of the whole Christian Church. For she does not only embody the Christian religion in a formal way, but contains also a restorative, self-correcting life

principle, by which the injurious is cast out and the beneficial taken in and assimilated. This is evident from the great changes that have already taken place in the Methodist Church for the better. Instead of denouncing, she now advocates an educated, efficient ministry. Instead of boasting loudly and constantly of her Anxious bench system, she has become very cautious, because her faith in it has been very much shaken, and in many places it will soon be abolished as a useless thing. Instead of ridiculing catechetical instruction, she now uses and begins to advocate it earnestly. And with every change she is coming a step nearer to us. Already is our Heidelberg Catechism used by many Methodist ministers, in preparing Tracts and books. The same may be expected of our Constitution. Many in the Methodist Episcopal Church are now dissatisfied with their Hierarchical church government, and I feel certain they could not find a more Apostolical, republican government, than ours! Read our Constitution, brethren. In many other things, be it said to our shame, we are far behind the Methodist Church! Her wonderful Book Concern and grand Missionary operations, are well calculated to drive a flush into our cheeks. Let us advance toward her in this respect, whilst she comes nearer to us in other respects, until we are *One*.

8. *Our relation to the Baptist Society.*

The early Baptists, having persuaded themselves by common sense reasoning into the notion, that a person must first exercise practical faith before he can be baptized, and that immersion is the only proper mode of Baptism, assumed at once a radical, antagonistic position to all the Reformed Churches, because they continued to administer the sacrament of Baptism to children of believing parents. And this position has been successfully maintained by them through many hard struggles, and although their manners have become considerably modified by the spirit of the age and its cunning policy, yet their opposition to Infant Baptism and to all its friends, is still the same. This is manifest not only from their practical demonstrations in regard to this subject, but also from the remarkable fact that they have, in accordance with their common sense notion of the sacraments, established their own Baptist communion,

from which all church-people, no matter how pious they may be, are carefully excluded. Hence our relation to the Baptist Society must necessarily be disagreeable and unpleasant. For the difference between us is indeed not about unimportant, accidental matters, but it regards principle. Infant Baptism, which we consider and cherish as a sacred rite, is treated by them with blasphemous ridicule! Whilst some of their great preachers, with brazen faced boldness, proclaim publicly "*that of all the heresies in the world, Infant Baptism is the most damnable,*" the prejudiced followers of those champions privately endeavor to undermine the people's faith in this blessed and venerable institution, by calling it "baby sprinkling." This lying declaration and ridiculing wit are the most offensive, and perhaps also the most powerful instruments in the hands of Baptists; for it is certain that in the diligent use of them lies the secret of their great success. I have been in several places of this State where members of our own and of other denominations, through their frequent intercourse with cunning Baptists, had been influenced to such a deplorable extent, that they habitually applied the disrespectful term "baby sprinkling" to the sacred institution of Infant Baptism. Of course, wherever such religious meanness becomes prevalent, the faith of churchly parents is greatly endangered, and as soon as Satan can persuade them that Infant Baptism is nothing more than "baby sprinkling," they will prefer letting their children grow up unbaptized. No wonder, therefore, that comparatively so few children are dedicated to God in holy Baptism. It is but the natural result of the cunning Baptist operations, in connection with the prevailing tendency to churchly indifferentism. If church members would act consistently with their confession of faith, they must frown with holy indignation upon every Baptist who, in their presence, is so impious as to apply the degrading term "baby sprinkling" to Infant Baptism!

In the light of Scripture we must regard the sacraments as objects of faith, and can therefore not agree with the Baptist manner of reasoning, by which they are stripped of all mystery and reduced to objects of mere common sense. Whilst they

put all stress on the *mode* of Baptism and make its efficacy entirely dependent on this ; we feel it our duty to exercise faith in the intrinsic power of the sacrament, as a means of grace, through which the Lord is pleased to confirm his spiritual blessings to his children. In child-like obedience to the Saviour's admonition : "*Suffer little children to come unto me,*" &c., we consider it a blessed privilege, as well as our solemn duty, to dedicate them to God in their Infancy, through the sacrament of Baptism. Christ has taken upon himself human nature in Infancy, in order that human Infants might become heirs of immortal glory, and hence we consider it not only wrong, but unchristian, when Baptists, by the dictates of their cold understanding, exclude all the little children from the means of grace in the visible Church. If Christian Infants are not fit subjects for Baptism, then old sinners, covered with guilt, should never be baptized, and if Christian children are unfit to be received into the Church on earth, then they are certainly never fit to enter the kingdom of heaven, and hence, when children die in their infancy, parents can have no hope of their salvation, but must give them up in despair to a cold, comfortless grave ! Where is there a tender hearted Christian mother, that could feel satisfied with such comfortless doctrine ? Away with your Baptistical rationalism ; let us keep our simple faith in the Redeemer's promise : "*Of such is the kingdom of heaven.*"

But Baptists contend that we must first be able to understand before Baptism can be of any use to us. This is making its efficacy dependent on human understanding, which we consider a grave error. For does not our reason, experience and observation convince us, that the Almighty is willing and able to bestow his blessings even upon the cold, *unfeeling earth* ! And should that same God, who, through Christ, has become our kind and gracious Father, not also be willing and able to bless a living Infant, created for a blissful immortality ? If Christian parents feel naturally dependent on God "for all they have, and all they are," and with grateful hearts for his precious gifts consecrate themselves anew to his service, at the dedication of their beloved infants ; can they have no assurance

that the Lord will hear and answer their fervent prayers, and receive their child under his parental care? Is there no efficacy in the transaction of the sacrament by the gospel minister, and are his earnest supplications at a throne of grace of no avail? If the blood of Christ is all sufficient to cleanse the polluted soul of a malefactor, should it not be able to cleanse the comparatively innocent soul of an infant sinner? It is argued that a person must first believe, and then be baptized. But who would dare to call any infant an unbeliever? The subjective principle of religious faith, the main distinguishing feature of man from the mere animal, is not implanted from without, but is inborn in the child, and all that is wanting is its proper development under the regenerating influence of God's Holy Spirit. Therefore we consider infants proper subjects for Baptism. Our Church does, however, not hold the erroneous doctrine of Baptismal regeneration, as it obtains in the Catholic and old Lutheran sects. (See *Heid. Cat.*, Quest. 73 and 74.) But neither can we agree with Dr. Ebrard on this subject, who wishes to substitute for Infant Baptism the laying on of hands, and thinks that the best practice would be to leave it entirely free to Christian parents, whether they will get their children baptized or not. (See his *Dogmatic*, page 628-9.) If others abuse the institution of Infant Baptism, that is no reason why we should do away with its proper use. Let our doctrine on this subject be the guide to our practice, and we will be sure to go right. Infant Baptism is not only a solemn pledge on the part of parents, but also the proper foundation for a Christian education of their children. Without such an education, Infant Baptism would indeed be a mere mockery, just as much so, as a Christian education is without Baptism; for whilst the former wants the superstructure, the latter is destitute of the proper foundation, resting on the flimsy groundwork of private opinion, as is the case with Baptist training. According to the solemn promise of Christian parents, their child must be carefully educated upon the foundation of its Baptism in the name of the Father, Son and Holy Ghost, until he is prepared, conscientiously, to meet with them at the altar of God, to make a solemn profession of his

faith in the doctrines of the Gospel, to take upon himself the baptismal vows of his parents, and through the rite of confirmation be introduced to the privileges of the Christian Church, where, by diligent use of the means of grace, he may grow in grace and in the knowledge of our Lord Jesus Christ into life eternal. We consider it therefore a dangerous error to regard Infant Baptism complete in itself, as the source of regeneration, independent of religious instruction and confirmation. Yet this error is very prevalent among church-members, as the indifferent training of their children abundantly proves. It is this faithlessness to their solemn vows, this shameful neglect of religious instruction, which produces so many ungodly youth, to whom Baptists are wont to point in triumph as a sufficient ground for their unbelief in Infant Baptism. But whilst we must acknowledge the sad fact that thousands of children have apparently received no benefit from their baptism, we must, at the same time, deny the conclusion that Infant Baptism is without effect and useless. If the mid-summer's sun in his fiery chariot passes over our fields, causing everything to droop and wither, or if a destructive hail-storm prostrates our promising crops to the ground, is this a proof that the preceding genial spring was no blessing, and that its productions were useless?

The Baptist sect is unchurchly by nature and constitution, and hence it is destitute also of the restorative, self-correcting principle, possessed by all churchly denominations. Self-conceit and arrogance, the natural product of blind prejudice and opposition, have led the Baptists to exercise Popish exclusiveness toward all true church members. And as there is no hope for their return to the Church, we must expect that they will only grow stronger and more determinate in the element of Popish arrogance and exclusiveness, as their recent movements plainly indicate. Hitherto they have still condescended to let other ministers preach in their pulpits, but this privilege is now being denied. Thank God that we are dependent for our salvation neither on the Pope at Rome, nor the Popish liberality of Baptists in America! That there are many noble minded men and true Christians in the Baptist society, we

readily acknowledge, and rejoice in the fact. We feel persuaded also that the Lord in his providence has permitted this sect to perform its mission to the honor and glory of his great name. Therefore, whilst we are distinct and separated in principle and practice, let us exercise charity toward them, and not return evil for evil. He, who has received all judgment from his Father, is our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, and he will make it well with us if we put our trust in Him. But our love of truth does not permit us to look with indifference upon the cunning operations of Baptists. We are obliged to use the sword of the Spirit also in this case, and we will try to do it faithfully at every suitable opportunity. But whenever we are in a place, where we cannot defend ourselves, and hear a Baptist preacher trying to shake our people's faith in Infant Baptism, by explaining, "Baptizo," and Greek particles, let us say to him in our mind: The Lord have mercy on thee, thou deluded simpleton!

Cincinnati, Ohio.

H. R.

ART. III.—AMERICA.

THE GENERAL CHARACTERISTICS OF THE POLITICAL, SOCIAL AND RELIGIOUS
CIRCUMSTANCES OF THE UNITED STATES.

Two discourses by DR. PHILIP SCHAFF, Professor of Theology at Mercersburg, Pa., delivered before the Evangelical Union at Berlin, March 20, 1854.

[Continued.]

4. SCIENCE AND LITERATURE.*

It would be very unfair and unreasonable to demand already as much scientific and aesthetic culture from so youthful a country as America, as from the countries of the old world, that stand

* It may be proper to inform the reader, that the lectures of Dr. Schaff on America at Berlin have been expanded, and published in a volume of nearly three hundred pages. They were prepared for publication in Germany at the solicitation of various persons, theologians, clergymen and others, who had heard them when they were delivered. They now form a very readable book, abounding in just and striking views of American life, and calculated to in-

upon the summit of modern cultivation with a history of centuries in their rear. Rather it is in the highest degree wonderful, that in two centuries since the settlement of New England, with which the history of North America commences, so much has been done in this respect. At the same time it is true it must not be ungratefully denied, that the results of the process of European civilization for two thousand years, have in this way served as an enormous capital for a basis and starting-point. Yet sufficient reason still remains for astonishment at the extraordinary energy, enterprize and activity which Americans have also manifested in the sphere of Science and Literature. It is ignorance, or calumny, when they are so frequently described as a purely materialistic race, that measures the worth of a man only by his money. They take rather the most active interest in all the branches of a higher education, and attest it at times by a true princely liberality. There have been cases in New England, where single individuals from a free impulse have contributed hundreds of thousands of dollars for the purpose of founding scientific institutions. If the same noble munificence were found among the Germans of America, then in Pennsylvania we should have had long ago a complete German University, which, though not as it regards the faculty, for this requires time, yet as it regards external means, might be compared with the ancient venerable literary institutions of Europe.

In America the tendency in general is towards the widest possible extension of culture and the multiplication of educational institutions. This is associated with the system of republican freedom and equality. Hence the number of colleges, seminaries, so called academies and literary associations is great and rapidly on the increase. There every little Synod,

spire the reader with an intelligent, if not an unqualified love and admiration for everything purely American. The translation which appeared in the last number of the Review, together with the present article, constitute the first part of the book, whilst the second and third parts give a more particular account of the religious condition of this country, as may be seen from a survey of its various religious denominations, first the English and then the German. Those who have read the translations will most likely be anxious to procure the book itself, which they will prize as a valuable contribution to American ecclesiastical history.—[TRANSLATOR.

or even every village wishes to have its own little seminary, or other petty, quasi-scientific institution. Of course they are then often accordingly. For intensity and depth do not necessarily go hand in hand with extension. There are even among professors of the higher institutions of learning a wonderful degree of superficiality, which is then commonly associated with literary vanity and grandiloquence. For superficial knowledge puffs up, whilst profound knowledge makes humble. It lies in the nature of things that a deeper scientific culture must be the prerogative of the relatively smaller class of men, because a world of simply learned men could not indeed exist for a single day. Nevertheless that tendency towards as general a spread of a certain grade of scientific culture as possible, cannot be prevented in such a country as America, and it has then again moreover also its advantages. I will first of all speak of the institution and means of education.

1. *Elementary education* is at the present time for the most part under the care of the single States, yet in such a manner, that the right of parents to send their children to private schools remains unabridged. Whole New England, New York, Pennsylvania, Ohio, and other States have introduced the Common School system, in part according to the Prussian model, by means of which the elements of knowledge are made accessible even to the poorest and the humblest. In New England in fact very seldom can any one also be found, who cannot read and write, and who does not moreover know something about the public affairs of the country besides. A peculiar phenomenon is the great number of female teachers. In this respect the "Yankee girls" in particular have distinguished themselves, who know how to get along in every direction successfully as teachers, similarly as in Europe the governesses of French Switzerland.

Lately the Roman clergy of New York and other States, made a systematic attempt to overthrow the State-schools, because the prevailing Protestant influence in them perceptibly alienated the youth from their Church. But the agitation was a failure, made Romanism only still more unpopular in public estimation, and confirmed the old accusation, that it is an en-

emy of universal popular education. Nevertheless these public schools, as they are at present constituted, have by all means their serious defects. Although they are usually opened with singing and reading of Scripture, yet no proper care is exercised for the religious education of the children, without which worldly culture can bring with it but little blessing. It is true there are everywhere Sunday schools, in addition to the public schools, where instruction in biblical history and the Catechism is gratuitously imparted to children by male and female members of the congregation, who devote themselves to this useful work of love from disinterested zeal for the good work itself. Nevertheless, even these, however valuable they are, and blessed in their operation, do not still appear wholly to meet the want. For this reason prominent men in Protestant confessions have likewise taken a polemical position towards these schools conducted by the State, and labored for the establishment of parochial schools, which shall stand in closer connection with the Church, and educate youth not only for time, but also for eternity.

2. The higher scientific education commences in the so called Academies, or Latin schools, and is then carried forward in the *Colleges*. These partly correspond to the upper classes in German Gymnasias and Lycea, but in some sense partly also at the same time, to a university, inasmuch as they not only presuppose a preparatory knowledge of the classics, and embrace everything which does not belong to a special department of study, but have also from the Legislature of the State the authority to confer all the academical degrees. The age of college students varies between sixteen and thirty years. In the full German sense of the term, there is, properly speaking, no University as yet in the United States. An idea to that effect has been lately suggested by very influential persons, and perhaps it will still likewise be carried out, but probably without a Theological Faculty, inasmuch as an organization of the kind would present almost insuperable difficulties on account of the multitude of rival Churches and sects; and a University without theology, this *regina scientiarum*, is in want of an animating soul, and a governing head. The Colleges at Cam-

bridge, Massachusetts, (Harvard University,) at New Haven, Connecticut, (Yale College,) and the University of Virginia, approach this conception nearest of all. For there a theological, a legal and a medical school is connected with the literary department. But then they fail in a philosophical faculty. Whatever of philosophy is taught is included in the proper collegiate or gymnasial course.

American colleges are established upon the old English model, and divided into four classes, the Freshmen, Sophomore, Junior and Senior. The students usually live together in one building, and are under the inspection of tutors, or assistant teachers. The instruction is commenced and concluded with divine service. Intoxication, and other excesses are punished with a fine, by a public reprimand, by suspension, and in repeated cases by expulsion. Such an unrestrained freedom, as prevails in German Universities, would be regarded in America as dangerous and impracticable. It is the opinion that a youth should be kept under discipline, that as a man he may rationally enjoy liberty. At the completion of a course of four years, the students must stand an examination before the faculty, and deliver an oration at the so-called Commencement, which is usually very well attended by ladies and gentlemen from far and near, and is a great festival occasion to the entire neighboring population. Then in the presence of the numerous assembly the degree of *baccalaureus artium* is solemnly conferred upon them by the President, and usually three years afterwards the degree of *magister artium*. The festival is concluded with an address from the President, music and the benediction. On such an occasion honorary degrees are also usually conferred, and indeed in such a profuse manner, that they must eventually lose their significance entirely, if a reaction does not take place. There are American doctors of Theology, who, however distinguished they may be as pulpit orators, have not on the score of science secured for themselves the least claim, and are scarcely able to read the New Testament in the original text.

The number of colleges is already considerable, and increasing almost every year. Of course not a few of them eke out

a very miserable existence, and do no credit to science. The most of them were established by the voluntary contributions of the Church, more particularly as preparatory schools for the Theological Seminary. Others are institutions of the State, and have no particular denominational complexion. Finally, others still owe their existence to the liberality of some individual, as Girard College at Philadelphia, with its costly edifice consisting of pure marble. The education imparted in these institutions is not as thorough as in Germany, but better adapted for public, practical life. The students have two literary societies, that rival each other, and are almost as important as the lectures. There, for instance, in their weekly meetings, exercises in speaking and declamation are held, and there already they learn the management of public assemblies, and the whole parliamentary method of dispatching business, which is so important for the political and social life of a republic. It is remarkable what an *esprit de corps* already rules in these students' societies, that are as completely organized as the great political parties of the land.

3. *Professional studies.* As in England so also in America a great many pass through a college course, who do not devote themselves to any learned profession, but wish to be merchants, land-owners, politicians and statesmen, and yet at the same time, cultivated gentlemen. Nevertheless the proper professional studies already receive more attention in the United States than in the English Universities of Oxford and Cambridge, where, as is known, they almost entirely give way to general college-studies. *Jurisprudence*, it is true, is usually studied privately under some lawyer engaged in practice, and has much less to do with abstract theories of right and its theoretical development, than with the forms of the old English laws, and of the American Constitution. Nevertheless there is, for instance, a formal law-school in Harvard University and Yale College. Much more numerous, however, are the *Medical Schools* for the education of physicians—in Philadelphia there are three of these, and besides one even for female physicians!—and *Theological Seminaries* for the education of preachers.

Formerly it was the custom for persons to prepare themselves for the office of the ministry under some experienced divine, and this is done in part still. Since the beginning of the present century, however, it has been found necessary to establish particular institutions for this object, for the most part in connection with a college. At the present time almost every respectable confession and sect has one or more of these seminaries, and the tendency to an increase of the same, is truly only too great. For when the sympathies of the public are so much divided, it is almost impossible to endow each one as it should be, in order that it may worthily accomplish its object. Thus, for instance, the various divisions of the German Church in America have already almost a dozen of such seminaries, and quasi seminaries, of which the most are still in their infancy, have an inadequate body of teachers, few students, small libraries, and must still struggle for their existence, so that the dignity of a theological professor there is very little to be envied. Sometimes they are even sent out as agents in order that they may first procure the necessary means for their support. However humiliating, however unavoidable at times, this employment may be, the self-denial and energy of the men, who submit themselves to it, are worthy of all acknowledgment when they proceed from a pure interest for the Church. It must be borne in mind, that the State, which is indeed separated from the Church, does nothing for institutions of this kind; that they must consequently be founded and sustained by the voluntary contributions of congregations, and therefore, it is truly to be wondered at, that in such a short time so much has already been done for them. Many of the older seminaries, as for instance, the Congregational at Andover, and the Presbyterian at Princeton, are not only permanently endowed, and supplied with four or five professorships, beautiful libraries, large buildings for teachers and students, but have also already manifested a considerable literary activity. I believe that scientific theology in America has secured a more favorable soil and accomplished more, comparatively, than in England and Scotland. In this respect we may certainly expect a great deal from the future. Then again these

American seminaries for preachers, have at all events this advantage, that the students do not devote themselves to theology for the sake of their bread, but from a religious motive, and therefore, so far as fallible men can judge of this, are truly converted young men, and that the practical preparation for the office goes hand in hand with the scientific training. Very frequently a seminary becomes the mother of a college, which then serves it as a scientific basis, and maintains from the beginning more or less a churchly and confessional character.

4. There is at present also in America an institution, which, to a certain extent, corresponds to an *Academy of Sciences*, namely, the Smithsonian Institute at Washington, the seat of the General Government. It was founded by a wealthy Englishman, whose name it bears, for the "increase and diffusion of knowledge among men," is controlled by Congress, and carried on by three secretaries. A large amount of interest which, had been accumulating for a number of years, has been expended in the erection of a splendid gothic building and in founding a library. Hitherto it has paid attention almost exclusively to the natural sciences, but it has also done much for the elucidation of the languages and antiquities of the Indians, and sends its richly furnished illustrated publications to nearly all the learned institutions and societies at home and abroad. In addition to the above, there are in nearly all of the older States Scientific Associations, Historical Societies, &c.

5. *Libraries.* There are already a great multitude of libraries in the United States, although none of them have yet reached the number of 100,000 volumes. The most considerable are at Cambridge, Boston, New York, Philadelphia and Washington. Every literary institution has a greater or smaller collection of books. The more wealthy colleges from time to time send agents to Europe to purchase valuable works in all departments of literature. Not seldom whole libraries are bought up. Thus, for instance, Neander's library is at present in a Baptist seminary at Rochester in the State of New York, and the library of Dr. Thilo, deceased, in Halle, in a few weeks will go to Yale College, New Haven, for which an American friend has just purchased it. Some years ago

John Jacob Astor of New York, the richest man in America, a German by birth, bequeathed half a million of dollars for the establishment of a public library in the city of New York, which was recently opened with 40,000 volumes, in an admirably arranged edifice. He might, with his more than sixteen millions, just as well have established a complete German University for the welfare of his own countrymen, if he had felt the proper interest in them.

6. *Literature.* Americans receive their education not only in their literary institutions, but almost as much from public life and activity, and the enormous mass of periodical and other literature, which circulates through the whole land. The United States are the classic ground of newspapers. Every political party, every religious sect, every theological school, and indeed every country town has its periodical organ, through which it seeks to mould public opinion in its favor. Hence, the number of quarterly Reviews, of monthly, weekly and daily papers is legion. The reading of political and religious newspapers has become as indispensable as breakfast. Every respectable man takes for himself at least one, and not unfrequently a half dozen of periodical newspapers, which are commonly *in omnibus quid*, but certainly also very often *in toto nihil*. Such reading by all means contributes to the diffusion of a certain amount of culture among all ranks of society, promotes however also superficiality to the same extent, destroys a taste for the study of more solid works, and dissipates the mind in the same degree as the reading of romances, whose place in America it has for the most part supplied. An earnest and worthy professor from New England said to me lately: "Our religious newspapers, which often live upon stale gossip, and party-squabbles, are the curse of our country." They are, however, in the worst case a necessary evil, and it is the duty of all good persons, not to suppress the public press; for that is now absolutely impossible; but to labor with the end in view, that it may become more and more the bearer and lever of truth and virtue. The circulation of many of these newspapers has not its equal in Europe. The New York Observer, a religious weekly newspaper, which is devoted to Presbyterian

principles, but contains at the same time also a checkered variety of political and other news, has 20,000, and Harper's Magazine, an illustrated monthly for the fashionable world, even 150,000 subscribers. Besides moreover in the absence of an international copy-right law, all the more important English and Scotch Quarterlies, the *Edinburg*, *London Quarterly*, *Westminster*, *North British Review*, *Blackwood's Magazine*, *Chambers' Journal*, &c., are republished partly in full, partly in extracts, and sold far cheaper than the original edition.

With this, however, the number of non-periodical works is also in proportion. All in any respect important books, which appear in Great Britain, are republished in America and are sold for at least half the price. The greatest establishment of the kind, and perhaps the greatest publishing concern in the world is that of the firm of Harpers in New York, which was burnt down in last December, (a year ago,) but with genuine American energy immediately set in operation again in another street, and with the assistance of the press in Philadelphia, Boston, Andover, &c., as if no disaster at all had happened. The positive expectation has been expressed to me by men acquainted with facts, that New York will become before a long time the greatest book-market in the world. The American Tract Society competes with the secular press, and multiplies the classic productions of English devotional literature, the ascetic writings of Baxter, Flavel, Owen, Howe, Bunyan, Chalmers, Merle D'Aubigne's *History of the Reformation*, Krummacher's *Elijah*, &c., in thousands upon thousands of copies, and sends them away by their agents underprice to the lowest huts in the far West.

A person might now think that this mass of republications of foreign works would destroy all productivity, and render the growth of an original literature almost impossible. This, however, is not yet the case. It is true America has produced as yet no genius of the first magnitude in the field of science and art, and of twenty literary productions, which appear there, scarcely one has the right to appear, whilst the rest fall still-born from the press. Nevertheless we may already speak at least of the promising beginnings of an independent Ameri-

can literature, and even Europe, which was formerly inclined to ridicule and smile at it, bestows upon it its homage. For, how many American books of the last few decades have been republished in England and Scotland, and translated into the German, French, Italian, and other cultivated languages. The names of Cooper, Washington Irving, Longfellow, Bryant, Dana, and the female writers, Stowe, Wetherill, Fanny Fern, &c., have already a European reputation. How often already in these days have I seen the "Wide, Wide, World," and "Queechy" lying upon the tables at Berlin. What an enormous celebrity, and we may indeed say unexampled circulation, has not Uncle Tom's Cabin obtained in a few weeks not only in England, but also upon the whole continent, so that even the pope, in the face of public opinion, saw himself induced to place the same with Humboldt's *Cosmos* and Macaulay's *History* upon the index of forbidden books; as if such works were more dangerous than Boccaccio's *Decameron*, which a person may find in almost every Italian family, and the text books of jesuitical casuistry and refined moral poison! America, however, has something better and more permanent to exhibit than sentimental romances, although even these, to their praise it must be said, possess a certain moral earnestness and religious sense, which sets them in an advantageous light as compared with the frivolous French romance literature. Prescott and Bancroft occupy an honorable rank among historians. Agassiz (who, it is true, brought with him an acquired celebrity from Switzerland, his native country,) Morse, Henry, Baird, among naturalists; Jonathan Edwards, Park, Stowe, Hodge, Alexander, Nevin, are in their spheres distinguished theologians; Robinson and Lynch have marked out the path for the thorough exploration of the localities and antiquities of the holy land, and are also in Europe recognized as authorities in this province. The natural sciences, especially, on account of their practical utility, and their influence upon the development of the material resources of the land, have there reached a high degree of perfection. Besides, the Americans are indeed directed by the political institutions at home to a thorough cultivation of the art of forensic and parliamentary eloquence, and

Webster, Clay, Calhoun, Everett, come at least near the rhetorical heroes of the British Parliament; indeed the first has no need to fear a comparison with the genial Burke.

In the *fine arts* the Americans are of course far in the rear, especially in the plastic arts, whose freer development prevailing puritan prejudices, have served to prevent. Nevertheless, poetry, the highest, the most spiritual, the most diversified of the liberal arts, has, as the above mentioned names prove, its respectable representatives. For music they have at least more sense than the English, and Jenny Lind, in the year 1850, was received with extravagant enthusiasm, and her journey through the United States resembled a true triumphal procession. The taste for architecture is making rapid progress in improvement, and in the larger cities within a few years have arisen magnificent churches in the byzantine and gothic style. In the *mechanical or useful arts*, especially in the construction of railroads, steamboats and machines of every description, Americans have already reached the English and in part have also surpassed them,

I cannot conclude this paragraph, without adverting to the increasing influence, which *German science and literature*, in the face of all the hitherto prevalent hostile bigoted prejudices, have exerted within the last few years, especially in the province of Philology, History, Philosophy and Theology. No important Latin or Greek Grammar, no edition or commentary is published there, which is not based upon the labors of Zumpt, Buttmann, Kuehner, Freund, Passow, Böckh, Jacobs. Coleridge, the English Schelling, whose spirited and suggestive works have as many readers and friends in America as in England, first led the way in transferring the ideas of German philosophy and in making them his own. The most important productions of the more modern German Theology, the historical works of Neander, Gieseler and Ranke, the writings of Knapp, Nitzsch, J. Müller on Dogmatics, the exegetical works of Olshausen, Hengstenberg, Tholuck, Lücke are widely circulated in more or less successful translations. Almost every number of the *Bibliotheca Sacra* of Andover, the *Biblical Repertory* of Princeton, the *New Englander* of New Haven,

the Methodist Quarterly of New York, the Christian Review of the Baptists, the Mercersburg Review of the Reformed, the Evangelical Review of the Lutherans, brings us translations or reviews of the latest productions of the theological literature of Germany. In the most important colleges and seminaries of the Congregationalists, Presbyterians, Baptists, &c., it is now almost good ton to make oneself in some degree at least acquainted with German literature, if it be also merely to combat it. I still well remember, as I landed in America ten years ago, how difficult it was to procure German works and periodicals. At present in New York alone there are four respectable German book stores, in Philadelphia as many, in Cincinnati two, and the latest works, especially in the department of theology, may be seen lying there a few weeks after their appearance. Many Americans, above all New Englanders, visit German Universities—here in Berlin alone at present it is said that over twenty are engaged in different studies—with the view of completing their education. In general owing to the greater facility of communication, travelling to Europe, and even to the distant East, particularly to the Holy Places, where the Saviour of the world once sojourned, and upon which this people of the distant West look with remarkable interest, will become still more frequent. Distances of hundreds and thousands of miles do not deter an American, when he has once sailed across the ocean, and from the most remote regions of the earth he collects new knowledge and views, in order to work them up in his native country, to which he returns with increased love and enthusiasm, and to make them serviceable to the process of American culture.

In short, America, favored by the most extensive emigration from all lands, will become more and more the rendezvous of all the good and bad elements of the civilization of the old world, which will there wildly ferment through each other, and upon the most fertile soil on earth unfold themselves further for the weal or the woe of future generations.

5. RELIGION AND THE CHURCH.

I now come to the point, which to myself is the most important, and to the assembly also the most interesting, but for

want of time I must confine myself to some general remarks, which, to some extent at least, may serve to orient my hearers in the checkered and confused scene of American Church History.

For the United States, and we may well say for the whole world, it is of immeasurable significance, that its first settlements for the most part proceeded from *Christian, religious motives*, that the earliest emigrants forsook the home of their fathers for the sake of their *faith and conscience*, and thereby impressed upon their new home from the beginning, a decidedly religious character, which now of itself exerts a beneficial influence upon such emigrants as are void and destitute of all religious feeling.

The ecclesiastical religious character of America is now, however, of course very different from that of the old world. There are two points in particular, which we must here keep in view.

The first is this. Whilst in Europe Catholicism constitutes the starting point of ecclesiastical conditions and relations, and even in Evangelical countries, most of the city and village churches, universities, and benevolent institutions are traced back to a medieval origin, so in North America, everything *began Protestant*, and the Catholic Church came in for the first afterwards as a constantly subordinate sect with reference to the others. There Protestantism, so to speak, has fallen heir to Catholicism; here Catholicism, under the protection of Protestant toleration and religious freedom, has found a new adopted home, and stands everywhere surrounded by Protestant creations and institutions. It is true the colony of Maryland founded by Lord Baltimore, the Catholic, belongs to the oldest settlements of North America. Howbeit, it was by no means in itself specifically Romish, but took for its basis the principle of religious freedom, which is essentially Protestant and directly opposed to Romish exclusiveness, and in that case it exercised also no specific religious influence upon the land; for the important position, which Baltimore, as the metropolis of the Romish Church in the United States occupies, is of later date. Much more significant were the settlements of the Pu-

ritans in New England, the Episcopalians in Virginia, the Quakers in Pennsylvania, the Hollanders in New York in the course of the seventeenth century, the Presbyterians from Scotland and North Ireland, and the Lutherans and Reformed from the Palatinate in the first half of the eighteenth century. They have impressed upon the country its prevailing spirit and character. What it has been and become up to this time is, without any question, mainly owing to the influence of Protestant principles, and the Romish Church has only within the last twenty years, particularly in consequence of the immense emigration from Ireland, secured a social and political influence in the eastern and western States of the Union.

Another peculiarity in the ecclesiastical affairs of North America, which is connected with the Protestant origin and character of the country as just described, is the *separation of Church and State*. The reproach of infidelity, that Christianity, without the help of civil power, would have already long ago died out, and the argument of Roman polemics, that Protestantism without the support of government and princes could not sustain itself, are set aside and totally annihilated by facts in the United States. The President and Governors, Congress at Washington and the legislative assemblies of the single States as such, have nothing to do with the Church, and it is expressly forbidden them by the Constitution to intermeddle with the affairs of the same. In the Church they have no other rights but those which belong to them personally as members of a religious communion. The Church, it is true, enjoys everywhere the protection of the civil law for her property, but manages her affairs quite independently, and must also provide for all her wants solely through voluntary contributions. As the State professes no definite religion, so of course there is no coercion as it regards baptism, confirmation or communing; religion is left to the free-will of each individual, and the Church has only moral means to make effectual her influence upon the world.

The separation was by no means brought about suddenly at one time or another in consequence of a revolution. The earliest settlers had certainly indeed no idea of it; but, like Calvin,

John Knox, the Scotch Presbyterians, and the English Puritans of the seventeenth century, proceeded from the Old Testament theocratic principles, and regarded the State and the Church as the two closely united arms of one and the same divine will. In fact the Puritans in the colony of Massachusetts, also founded a strenuous Congregational State-Church-establishment, made the enjoyment of civil rights dependant upon membership in the Church, and punished not only blasphemy, and open infidelity, but every departure from the publicly acknowledged Christian doctrine and customs as a political offence. In Boston in the seventeenth century, the Quakers who there made their appearance in a fanatical way, and rudely violated decency, were formally persecuted, publicly scourged, imprisoned, and driven out of the country, and in Salem witches were burnt as standing in league with the devil. The last traces of these politico-ecclesiastical regulations, vanished in New England only a good while after the American war of independence, and even still at this time there are in most of the States laws for maintaining the observance of Sunday, monogamy, and other specifically Christian institutions. So far accordingly the separation is by no means an absolute one. Whilst in New England Congregationalism, in New York at first the Dutch Church, but afterwards the English Episcopal Church, so in Virginia and in some other southern States likewise the English Episcopal Church was the established religion, by the side of which the other forms of Christianity were either not tolerated at all, or only with important restrictions, like the dissenters formerly in England.

But then, on the other hand, in the other North American colonies, from the commencement of their establishment, consequently already long before the war of independence in 1776, perfect freedom of faith and conscience prevailed all along; namely, in Rhode Island, which was founded by the Baptist, Roger Williams, who was driven out of Massachusetts on account of heresy, and therefore from bitter experience rendered averse to religious intolerance; in Pennsylvania, which the Quaker, William Penn, selected more particularly as an asylum for the persecuted brethren of his own faith, whither he

soon invited also the Lutheran and Reformed of the Palatinate, allowing to them the same rights, and leaving every one to the pole-star of the "inner light;" and finally in Maryland, which was at first settled by Lord Baltimore, also on the basis of general religious toleration.

This state of things became by degrees general after the American war of Independence. The legislative assembly of Virginia, after the colony had separated itself from the mother country, first annulled the rights and privileges of the established Episcopal Church, and placed all dissenting communions upon a perfectly equal footing before the law. The other colonies in which a so-called ecclesiastical establishment prevailed, followed her example. As Congress was organized after the termination of the war, an article was inserted into the Constitution, which forbids it ever to pass laws respecting religion, and similar restrictions are found in the Constitutions of the single States.

We would not by any means defend this separation of Church and State, as the ideal state, which requires much more a heaven-like penetration, and transformation of all the relations of individual and national life. We, however, by far prefer it to the territorial system, and the police-like guardianship of the Church, this Bride of the God-man, this freeborn daughter of heaven, and consider it adapted to the present wants of America and promotive of her religious interests. For we must not by any means regard this separation as a *renunciation of Christianity* on the part of the nation, somewhat in the sense in which some members of the abortive Frankfort Parliament wished to bring about in Germany, a separation of the State and School from the Church, and the civil equality of Atheism with Christianity. It is not the annihilation of one factor, but merely a peaceful separation of the two spheres, and as much so a declaration of independence and emancipation of the Church from the guardianship of the State, as an emancipation of the last from the control of a distinct confession. The *nation* is, therefore, still Christian, although it refuses to be determined and led in the deepest concerns of the spirit and the heart by the secular power. Yea, under such circumstances Christianity as a freer expres-

sion of a people's character, has even greater power over the mind, than when it is enjoined by civil statutes, and is held up by police-measures. This is shown in fact by the strict observance of Sunday, in the numerous religious and Church-institutions for instruction, in the zeal for Bible and Tract Societies, for Domestic and Foreign Missions, in the numerous revivals, in the general attendance upon divine worship, and in the habit of family-devotion,—pure utterances of the Christian religious character of a people, in which Americans already excel most nations of old Christian Europe.

The State indeed as such in America acknowledges Christianity to a certain extent officially, inasmuch as Congress appoints chaplains for itself, for the army and navy,—mostly Episcopal and Presbyterian, but also Methodist clergymen,—opens every one of its sessions with prayer, and holds every Sunday divine worship in the Senate Chamber in the Capitol at Washington. The Constitutions of the single States contain likewise strenuous laws against blasphemy, against atheism, against the profanation of the Sabbath, against polygamy, and other gross violations of the general Christian morality.

The separation is thus not absolutely accomplished, just because of the influence of Christianity upon the character of the people. Indeed it is very possible, that the two powers may yet come into collision. The toleration of the Americans has its limits and its counterpoise in religious fanaticism, to which they are very much inclined. This is seen in the banishment of the Mormons, who offended so grossly the religious sense of the people. The growth of the Roman Church, however, which of late everywhere aims at gaining political influence, and thereby excites the jealousy and opposition of the great Protestant majority, may yet produce great difficulties upon the political field. For puritanically minded Americans see in Catholicism an ecclesiastical despotism, which if it be consistent must lead to a political despotism, and thus, in case it gains the supremacy in the United States, to the overthrow of republican liberty. The Catholic question thus at the same time has come to be regarded on many sides as a political question, which involves the existence of the republic, and a religious

war between the Catholics and the Protestants, if it be even in the highest degree improbable, is nevertheless by no means an absolute impossibility, as slight beginnings thereof made their appearance in the conflict of the two parties upon the streets of Philadelphia in the year 1844, and in the violent destruction of a Romish convent at Charlestown, Massachusetts.

If, however, the great question concerning the relation of the Church to the State, is in itself by no means as yet fully solved in the United States, still at all events the two powers there are nevertheless much more strictly separate than in any other land,

The natural result of this state of things is the general freedom of religion and conscience, and the so called voluntary principle, i. e., the maintenance and promotion of all churchly-religious objects and purposes by the voluntary contributions of the people. The State does nothing, except in the few above mentioned cases, for the erection of churches, for the salary of ministers, the establishment of Theological Seminaries, the support of indigent students in their education for the ministerial office. It gives no taxes to these objects, and there is no person obliged to contribute a farthing to them. What is done for them, does not necessarily by any means proceed from the purest motives, from mere love to God and religion, but often from a certain feeling of honor, and from all kinds of selfish, subordinate considerations, yet nevertheless always from a free impulse without any external compulsion.

When a person properly considers this, he must justly wonder at the multitude of churches, preachers, colleges, Theological Seminaries, and benevolent institutions, which are all founded and kept up by free will offerings. In Berlin there are scarcely forty churches for a population of 450,000 inhabitants, of whom, notwithstanding the connection of Church and State, only about 30,000 attend divine worship; in New York out of 700,000 inhabitants there are perhaps five or six hundred, of which some are very large and costly churches, and in many of the country towns of America, at least in the east, one church on an average for a thousand souls. If they are not gothic cathedrals, yet they are most respectable and con-

venient edifices, and answer all the wants of the congregation, often indeed much better than the most imposing dome. In every new part of the town, in every new settlement, persons are equally concerned for the erection of a temple to the Lord, where the neighboring population shall be regularly fed with the bread of life, and incited to labor, order, discipline and every good work. Imagine once the case, if in Germany the State should suddenly withdraw her support from the Church and the Universities, and how many preachers and ministers there would be at once without bread, and how many lecture rooms would be closed!

The voluntary system has certainly a great many dark sides, and is connected with all kinds of petty drudgery and crosses, of which nothing is known in Germany. The ministers and teachers among the recent German emigrants of America, who are accustomed to have the State take care of all churchly and scientific wants, have to suffer a good deal from these circumstances, must very often make a begging-tour for the erection of a church, and must expose themselves to innumerable other disagreeable things for the sake of the good thing, until once a congregation is brought into a proper state and its members are exercised in liberality.

But on the other hand, the voluntary system also calls forth a large amount of *individual activity and participation of the laity in the affairs of the Church*, in the establishment of new churches and congregations, colleges and seminaries, in domestic and foreign missions, and in the promotion of all kinds of charity and mercy. He who without external force brings his regular offerings for the support of the Church and minister, has usually also more interest in both, and sees at the same time in their prosperity with pleasure the fruit of his own labor. The same is true of Seminaries. For a theological teacher all the congregations and Synods that contribute to his support, and for whom he educates ministers of the word, feel an interest, whilst in Europe the people concern themselves little or nothing about the theological faculty.

Persons may think that this circumstance has as its necessary result an undignified dependence of the clergy upon the

congregation. This as a rule is not the case. The Americans expect of a clergyman that he should perform his duty, and respect the person most, who, without the fear or favor of man, exhibits the whole counsel of salvation, and holds forth as sharply and specifically human depravity and the threats of the divine Word as its consoling promises. Cases, where preachers are hired for an appointed time, as hired servants, occur sometimes by all means, it is true, among independent German rationalist congregations, and to some extent in the sect of Universalists, but not in a regular Synod; a pious congregation knows very well, that such an abasement of the sacred office, which in the name of Jesus Christ proclaims reconciliation and binds and looses, would disgrace itself, and a preacher, who belongs to a respectable ecclesiastical body, is not at all permitted to accept of a call under such conditions even if he would.

Under the protection of general religious freedom, all religious parties and sects, with the exception of the oriental, have now settled in the United States, stand side by side with the same civil rights, in part attract, in part repel, in a good and a bad sense rival, and in numerous religious newspapers mutually combat each other. They present in this way a *model-chart of the entire history of the Church and of its results hitherto*. Partly time and partly the limits of this discourse, forbid us to enter into a fuller description of them.* We must content ourselves with the general remark, that we must view the whole present form and division of churchly relations and parties in America, however pleasant and promising on one side, nevertheless on the whole, as unsatisfactory, and as a mere transition-state to something higher and better. America appears to us to be selected for this object, that it may become the phoenix-grave not only of all European nationalities, as we maintained above, but also of all European sects, of Protestantism and Romanism. I cannot possibly think, that any one of the present confessions and sects, whether the Romish, or the Episcopal, or the Congregational, or the Presbyterian, or

* In the second and third parts of the book on America, which grew out of these Lectures, this is done.

the Lutheran, or the Methodist, or the Baptist communion, will ever there reach an exclusive supremacy, but readily, that something entirely new will be gradually formed out of the mutual collision of all. In any case the kingdom of Jesus Christ must in the end gain the victory in the new world, also over all old and new enemies. A pledge of this is found in the mass of individual Christianity in America, but above all in the assurance of the Lord, who has promised his Church the victory over the whole world; and his words are yea and amen.

With this prospect we bring to a close this sketch-like miniature picture of life and activity in the United States. You perceive from this, that there all the good and evil energies of Europe ferment together under new and peculiar relations and conditions. Everything is still comprehended in a chaotic transitional state; but the formative powers are also already at hand, and brooding over them hovers the Spirit of God, who in his own time will speak the almighty word: Let there be light, and call forth a beautiful creation out of the confused chaos.

If in the view of many of my respected hearers I have perhaps drawn too favorable a description, I ask them to remember, that the dark sides of the picture, which indeed I also have not suppressed, have been only too often held up by European travellers or spectators from a distance, in a one sided way, and in too highly wrought colors, and then that it would be manifestly very ungrateful and dishonorable for me to disparage my new fatherland behind its back, to uncover its nakedness with an unsparing hand, and to pass silently over its excellencies and great prospects.

In general, there are certainly few cultivated and unprejudiced Germans, who in the face of all the differences in particulars, will not give me right when I designate America as the world of the *future*. I do not do this to the prejudice of old and venerable Europe, which truly, by all means, quaked to its very foundations in the year 1848, and seemed to be approaching a fearful anarchy and barbarism, but since then has already proved, that it has in Christianity and civilization the power and guaranty of regeneration and rejuvenescence. I do not believe, that Europe, which we Americans honor and

love as our bodily and spiritual mother, must first become a escond Asia, in order that America may become a higher Europe. Indeed even at the present moment the prospects of a regeneration of the orient, and of the venerable original seat of Christianity open up, which it is to be hoped, will prove under a divine dispensation the end-result of the warlike complications of Russia with the western powers about the apple of contention, Turkey and the keys of the holy sepulchre. The hitherto partition-walls between nations, and distant parts of the world, fall more and more before the material means of communication, which in a higher hand must serve as instruments for spiritual and eternal objects. Europe, Asia, Africa, America, and Australia, indeed all belong to the Lord, who died for them all. They move nearer to each other from year to year, and must at last extend a brotherly hand to each other without distinction of laborers, new or old; those that come early or late into the vineyard, must adhere to the same Lord in free obedience, and present the one promised fold under one shepherd.

Lancaster, Pa.

T. A.

ART. IV.—INAUGURAL EXERCISES.

- 1.) Introductory Discourse, by Rev. John W. Nevin, D. D.
- 2.) Charge to the Professor, by Rev. Samuel R. Fisher, D. D.
- 3.) Inaugural Address, by Rev. Bernard C. Wolff, D. D.

THE CHRISTIAN MINISTRY.

Ephesians, 8-10.—Wherefore he saith, When he ascended up on high, he led captivity captive, and gave gifts unto men. (Now that he ascended, what is it but that he also descended first into the lower parts of the earth? He that descended is the same also that ascended up far above all heavens, that he might fill all things.) And he gave some, apostles; and some, prophets; and some, evangelists; and some, pastors and teachers: For the perfecting of the saints, for the work of the ministry, for the edifying of the body of Christ: Till we all come in the unity of the faith, and the knowledge of the Son of God, unto a perfect man, unto the measure of the stature of the fulness of Christ: That we henceforth be no more children, tossed to and fro, and carried about with every wind of doctrine, by the sleight of men, and cunning craftiness, whereby they lie in wait to deceive; But, speaking the truth in love, may grow up into him in all things, which is the head, even Christ: From whom the whole body fitly joined together, and compacted by that which every joint supplieth, according to the effectual working in the measure of every part, maketh increase of the body unto the edifying of itself in love.

WE propose to consider from this passage, without farther introduction, the Origin, Nature, and Design of the Christian Ministry.

I. In the first place, its ORIGIN. This is here referred by St. Paul explicitly to what may be denominated the *Ascension Gift* of our Lord Jesus Christ. When he ascended up on high, we are told, leading captivity captive, far above all heavens, that he might fill all things, he gave gifts unto men; and he gave some apostles, and some prophets, and some evangelists, and some pastors and teachers. The ministry was the result and fruit of his glorification at the right hand of God, when he became "head over all things to the Church, which is his body, the fulness of him that filleth all in all." All lay in the Gift of the Holy Ghost, as his presence began to reveal itself in the world on the day of Pentecost.

This Gift forms in a certain sense the end or completion of

the Gospel. In it the "Mystery of Godliness," the economy of redemption, came first to its full perfection as the power of God, not in purpose merely, but in actual reality, for the salvation of the world. What was begun when the Word became Flesh in the Virgin's womb, was brought here to its proper consummation. The Incarnation of Christ and the Mission of the Holy Ghost stand related to each other, not simply as cause and effect, but as commencement and conclusion of one and the same grand fact. The first was in order to the last, and looked forward to it continually as its own necessary issue and scope. Short of this, the design of Christ's coming into the world could not be reached. He took upon him our nature, that he might die for our sins and rise again for our justification, that is, that having by his death exhausted the curse which lay upon the world through the fall, and having broken thus the power of death and hell, he might be constituted by his resurrection and glorification the head of a new creation, the principle and fountain of a new order of life among men, in the bosom of which it should be possible for the believing and obedient, through all time, to be saved from their iniquities and made meet for the inheritance of the saints in light. All this took place by the mission of the Holy Ghost, for which it was necessary that room should in this way be first made by the whole previous manifestation and work of the Redeemer.

The New Testament is full of this thought ; so that it is truly wonderful there should ever be any doubt in regard to it, with those who pretend to take the Scriptures as their guide. The Gospel goes throughout upon the assumption, that the power which Christ carried in himself for the salvation of the world could not make itself felt with free, full, constant action among men, till it had gone through a certain course of qualification previously in his own person. The Spirit dwelt in him, we know, without measure ; but so long as he continued in our present mortal state, it was necessarily confined to his own individual life. Between it and the surrounding world of humanity, comprehended as this was in the order of mere nature, rose as a high wall of separation, the law of sin and death which reigns

throughout this constitution, making it impossible for the law of spiritual life in Christ Jesus to reach it under its own form. Death and sin must first be conquered on their own territory by the Son of God himself; which however implied, of course, that he should with real victory transcend, at the same time, their domain, and so take possession of the world under the form of a new, higher existence, no longer natural, but supernatural, from the plain of which it might be possible for him to extend to men generally the power of his redemption in a corresponding real and truly supernatural way. The order of nature could never be the platform of any such work; and therefore it must be left behind for the sake of the work itself; and room must be found for the mystery of righteousness in another system altogether, in the order of grace, as this was to be constituted and made permanent in the world by the resurrection of Jesus Christ from the dead.

This great idea underlies all our Saviour's instructions, as it may be said also to be the actuating sense of his own entire life. "Except a corn of wheat fall into the ground and *die*," we hear him saying, (John 12 : 24,) "it abideth alone; but if it die, it bringeth forth much fruit." This refers to himself; but then he adds immediately, as the standing law and general conception of the Christian salvation: "He that loveth his life shall lose it; and he that hateth his life *in this world*, shall keep it unto life eternal." So after his resurrection (Luke 24 : 25, 26 :) "O fools, and slow of heart to believe all that the prophets have spoken! *Ought not Christ to have suffered these things, and to enter into his glory?*" Everywhere we may see, that in the mind of our Saviour, the whole purpose and force of his life were felt to be conditioned by his dying, and so entering upon a new mode of existence, in which he should no longer be subject to the limitations of his mortal state, but have his humanity itself exalted above nature, and clothed with dominion over it for the benefit of his Church. His removal from the world of sense in this way was to be no loss to his disciples, but on the contrary great gain. He would be put to death in the flesh, as St. Paul expresses it, only that he might be quickened *in the Spirit*. His presence with his

people, under this form, would be not less real than it had been before, but in some sense, we might say, even more real, as being at the same time far more unrestrained, and intimately near, and powerfully efficacious for the ends of the Gospel, than it was ever possible for it to be previously to his glorification. For it is by the Spirit that he enters into living communication with the members of his mystical body; and the Spirit or Holy Ghost, we are told (John 7: 39,) could not be given, or *was* not, as the original text has it—that is, was not as the actual revelation of the Saviour's higher presence in the world—till Jesus was glorified. "I will not leave you orphans," he says, (John 14: 18, 19,) "I will come to you. Yet a little while, and the world seeth me no more; but ye see me: because I live, ye shall live also." So again, (John 16: 7,) "*It is expedient for you that I go away; for if I go not away, the Comforter will not come unto you, but if I depart, I will send him unto you.*" The presence in the flesh must be withdrawn, to make room for a higher, better, and far more glorious presence in the Spirit.

The great burden indeed of our Saviour's valedictory discourse may be said to turn upon this thought; and after his resurrection, accordingly, all is made to depend with him on what was to be now brought to pass by his formal ascension into heaven. "Behold I send the promise of my Father upon you," it was said (Luke 14: 49. Acts 1: 4, 5;) "but tarry ye in the city of Jerusalem, until ye be endued with power from on high. For John truly baptized with water; but ye shall be baptized with the Holy Ghost not many days hence." The mission of the Spirit is made thus to be the great object of his whole previous life. It formed the travail of his soul, from the commencement of his sufferings to their close. For this he wrestled with the powers of hell. This was emphatically the purchase of his death, the boon of salvation which he came into the world to obtain for our fallen race. He became the author and finisher of our faith, (Heb. 12: 2,) by enduring the cross, with all its shame, and so being set down at the right hand of the throne of God; ascending up far above all heavens, that he might fill all things; leading captivity captive, and

taking possession of the world as its supernatural king and head, that he might bestow gifts upon men. And all these gifts were comprehended primarily in the Holy Ghost, as the form under which it was now made possible for the power of his glorified life to reveal itself with free effect in the world. The Holy Ghost, in this view, is not one among other gifts for which the world is indebted to Christ, but the sum and absolute unity at once of the whole; the Gift of gifts; that without which there could be no room to conceive of any other, and through which only all others have their significance and force. It is that which men need as the very complement of their life, that they may be redeemed from the power of the fall, and raised to a participation of the divine nature, (2 Peter 1: 4,) having escaped the corruption that is in the world through lust. For "except a man be born of water and of the Spirit, he cannot enter into the kingdom of God;" and only what is thus born of God, as distinguished from all that is the birth of mere flesh, (1 John 5: 4,) can ever have power to overcome the world. So wide and vast is the grace procured for man by the death and resurrection of the Son of God, and bestowed upon them after his ascension through the gift of the Holy Ghost.

This Gift now forms the origin and ground of the Christian Church; which by its very nature, therefore, is a supernatural constitution, a truly real and abiding fact in the world, and yet, at the same time, a fact not of the world in its natural view, but flowing from the resurrection of Christ and belonging to that new order of things which has been brought to pass by his glorification at the right hand of God; a fact not dependent, accordingly, on the laws and conditions that reign in "this present evil world," and not at the mercy of its changes in any way—"against which the gates of hell shall not prevail," and that is destined to outlast and conquer in the end all other institutions, interests and powers of the earth. As a supernatural presence among men in any such constant and really historical way as the Gift and Promise of Christ seem necessarily to imply, the Spirit must have his own supernatural sphere, in distinction from the order of nature, within which to carry forward his operations as the power of a new creation

over against the vanity and misery of the old. This constitution or order of grace is what our faith is taught to receive in the article of the Holy Catholic Church; that great mystery which is denominated Christ's Body, and within which is comprised, according to the Creed, the whole supernatural process of man's salvation, from baptism for the remission of sins, onward to the resurrection of the flesh and the life everlasting. It is not of the first creation, like the art and science, and political institutions of mankind in every other view. It holds directly from Christ in his capacity of glorified superiority to the universal order of nature. He is "head *over all things* to the Church." It is in virtue of his having conquered, and ascended up on high, leading captivity captive, far above all heavens—far above all principality, (Eph. 1: 21,) "and power, and might, and dominion, and every name that is named, not only in this world, but also in that which is to come"—that he has by his Spirit created for himself this glorious constitution, and continues to reign over it through all ages as "the beginning (Col. 1: 18) and first-born from the dead." So when he commissioned his Apostles for their great work, all was made to depend on what had thus been accomplished in his own person. "All power," he said (Matth. 28: 18-20,) "is given unto me in heaven and in earth: Go ye *therefore*"—because it is so and I am able, as the conqueror of sin and death and hell, having all power in my hands, to become the author, the principle and ground of a new creation, against which the gates of hell shall not prevail; because it is so, go ye *therefore*—"and teach all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost; teaching them to observe all things whatsoever I have commanded you: And, lo, I am with you always, even unto the end of the world."

And here we are brought directly to the point which we have now before us for particular consideration, namely, the origin of the Christian Ministry. It is, by the terms of this commission, identified with the institution of the Church itself. The two things are not just the same. The Church is a much wider conception than the Ministry. But still they are so joined together, that the one cannot be severed from the other.

The idea of the Church is made to involve the idea of the Ministry. The first is in truth constituted by the commission that creates the second; for it has its whole existence conditioned by an act of faith in the reality of this commission, and this tested again by an act of real outward homage to its authority, the sacrament of baptism being interposed as the sign and seal of every true entrance into the system of grace thus mysteriously consigned to its charge. "He that *believeth*, and is *baptized*," it is said, (Mark 16: 16,) "shall be saved; but he that believeth not, shall be damned."

The appointment of the Ministry in the form now mentioned, took place just before our Saviour's ascension; but it was not until the day of Pentecost that the appointment was fairly armed with its own proper supernatural force, as an institution springing from the glorious sovereignty with which Christ was invested, when he took his seat at the right hand of God as head over all things to the Church. The Apostles were directed to wait at Jerusalem, accordingly, till they should be endued with power from on high. Then, when the right time was fully come, the Spirit descended in symbols of wind and flame. The great promise of the gospel was fulfilled. The Ministry received its baptism of fire. The Church came to its solemn inauguration; all as an order of things proceeding really and truly from the Saviour's glorification. "Being by the right hand of God exalted," the people were told at the time, (Acts 2: 33,) "and having received of the Father the promise of the Holy Ghost, he hath shed forth this which ye now see and hear."

II. We are to consider, in the next place, the NATURE of the Christian Ministry, the peculiar quality and constitution of the office, as related to its origin in one direction and to its general purpose or design in another.

And what we need first and chiefly to fix in our minds here, is its *supernatural* character. This lies in what we have now seen to be the source from which it springs. It refers itself at once to the ascended and glorified Christ. When he went up, leading captivity captive, far above all heavens, and was constituted head over all things at God's right hand, then it was, and in this capacity and posture, that he gave gifts unto men,

and foremost among these the institution of the Ministry, endowed with power from on high for its own heavenly ends.

Let us endeavor to apprehend well the full force of this thought. We may speak of a divine agency in the order of nature. "The heavens declare the glory of God, and the firmament sheweth his handiwork." And still more room is there to refer the life of man, in its higher forms, to his ordination and care. "The inspiration of the Almighty giveth him wisdom." In this way, we are prompted to ascribe remarkable providences to his hand, and are accustomed to talk of nations and men as having been raised up by him for the accomplishment of particular ends. There may be a vocation thus, and along with it a corresponding commission, for purposes embraced in the economy of our present life, which are as truly referable to the divine will as this economy itself is in all its parts. Cyrus had his mission from God; so had Alexander the Great; and so also our own more illustrious Washington. Great statesmen, great artists, and great scholars, may be regarded as men sent of God for their own special work. We ascribe to them at times an actual inspiration from on high, a sort of truly divine afflatus, answerable to the idea of such a mission. And so the Bible itself teaches us to look upon the domestic constitution and upon civil government, as existing by the authority and will of heaven. Parents have a divine right to the respect and obedience of their children; and magistrates, according to St. Paul, are to be obeyed for conscience' sake. "The powers that be," he tells us, (Rom. 13: 1, 2,) "are ordained of God: Whosoever, therefore, resisteth the power, resisteth the ordinance of God; and they that resist shall receive to themselves damnation." Thus it is, we may see, that the order of nature admits, not only the idea, but the actual reality also of heaven-appointed functions and functionaries, in its own sphere, on all sides.

But is the Christian Ministry now a divine institution, only in the same general view? Such seems to be the opinion of many. They attach much the same force to the commission claimed by Calvin or John Wesley, that they are ready to allow also to that of Oliver Cromwell. Both the authority of the of

fice, and the vocation to it, are supposed to be lodged in some way in the moral constitution of the world under its ordinary form, and to be divine only in virtue of those general relations to God, which this must be allowed on all hands to carry in its bosom. But this is in truth to mistake and deny the supernatural character of the Ministry altogether, and to turn it into an institution of mere nature, the very thing which our faith is required to contradict. The peculiarity of the office is, that it does not originate in any way out of the order of this world naturally, but proceeds directly and altogether from a new and higher order of things brought to pass by the Spirit of Christ in consequence of his resurrection and ascension. It belongs to that constitution which we call the Church; which starts from him who is the resurrection and the life, and who has passed into the heavens as its glorified head; which is by its very conception, therefore, a supernatural fact; and whose whole existence in the world, accordingly—its actual relations, capabilities, and powers—is a mystery that can be apprehended only by faith. To conceive properly of the divine character of the sacred office, we must make full earnest with the relation it bears to the glorification of Christ, as the cause and source of an order of things higher than nature in the world, which was not and could not be in it before. It holds from him immediately as head over all things to the Church.

And as regards this point, it is plain that no account is to be made of the distinction that is justly enough drawn between the ordinary and extraordinary forms of the office. "He gave some, apostles," it is said, "and some, prophets, and some, evangelists, and some, pastors and teachers;" various classes and orders, some special and for a time only, others for the ordinary use of the Church through all ages; but so far as their origin is concerned, all of precisely the same character and nature; since all alike are referred to the same ascension gift. The source of the apostleship, is the source also of the common pastoral episcopate. As the Church is a supernatural constitution, and so an object rightly of faith, in its ordinary history, no less than in the midst of Pentecostal miracles, so does the Ministry also derive its force really and truly from Christ, in

his capacity of head over all things to the Church, whether exercised by inspired or by uninspired men. This deserves to be well considered and laid to heart. Either the office in its ordinary form is a mere sham, an idle mockery without reality or power, or else it must be allowed to represent and embody in itself actually the force of a supernatural commission.

It becomes easy, in this view, to determine its relation to the world, as it exists in the order of nature. The office is no product, in any sense, of the life of humanity in this form. It holds, as we have seen, from another economy or system, founded in a power which has actually surmounted the order of nature, and reigns above it in its own higher sphere. On this ground it is, that we declare the Church to be higher and greater than the State. Patriotism after all is not the first virtue of man, if we are to understand by it devotion to the will of the State, regarded as an absolute end. To make this will the absolute measure of truth and duty, to find in it the last idea of right and wrong, to denounce the conception of a real jurisdiction on the part of the Church that shall be taken as owing no subordination whatever to the jurisdiction of the State, (in the style of some who carry on the war blindly with the Church of Rome,) is in fact to betray Christ into the hands of Cæsar, and to treat the whole mystery of his ascension and glorification as a cunningly devised fable. Governments have no right to place themselves at the head of the Church, or over it, in its own sphere; converting it into a department of State, as in Prussia; or making the civil power the source and fountain of ecclesiastical authority, as since the days of Henry the Eighth and Cranmer in England. What can be more monstrous than the conception of such a pretended headship of the Church, resting as it does at this moment in the person of Queen Victoria, because she happens to be the political sovereign of the British nation! But if it be monstrous for any civil power to usurp this sort of lordship over God's heritage, affecting to play the part of sovereign in the sphere of powers that belong not to this world, can it be at all less monstrous to think of making these powers dependent on the constitution of the simply natural world in any other view?

The people have just as little right here as parliaments and kings, to shape the Church to their own ends, or to take the creation of its Ministry into their own hands. The fond notion which some have of a republican or democratic order in Christianity, by which the popular vote, or the will of any mass or majority of men, shall be regarded as sufficient to originate or bring to an end the sacred office wherever it may be thought proper, and even to create if need seem a new *Church*, as they dare to prostitute that glorious name, for its service and use—is just as far removed from the proper truth of the Gospel as any other that could well be applied to the subject. It is completely at war with the Creed. It makes no account of the strictly supernatural character of Christ's kingdom, as a real polity not of this world, and yet from its own higher sphere entering into it and taking hold upon its history in the most real way. It drags the whole mystery down continually to the level of the simply natural understanding, and forces it thus to lose itself at last altogether in the world of mere flesh and sense.

The relation of the Ministry to the world on the outside of the Church, however, as now described, does not determine at once its relation to the mass or body of men who belong to the Church itself; and there is room here, accordingly, for the democratic notion just dismissed, to return upon us again under another and much more plausible form. The office may be viewed as something which proceeds from Christ, not indeed through the constitution of nature as is the case with that of the civil magistrate, but yet through the constitution of grace itself as this is comprehended in the general Christian community. We are thus confronted with the question concerning the order which the Ministry and the Church hold to each other, in the system of Christianity. Both spring from the same source, and date from the same time. Still there is room to distinguish between them, as regards inward priority and dependence, and to ask, whether the Church is to be regarded as going before the Ministry, or the Ministry before the Church. To this question, however, an answer has been in fact already returned, in speaking of the commission origi-

nally given to the Apostles. The terms of that commission are such as of themselves plainly to show, that the Church was to be considered as starting in the Apostles, and extending itself out from them in the way of implicit submission to their embassy and proclamation. They were to stand between Christ and the world; to be his witnesses, his legates, the representatives of his authority, the mediators of his grace among men. They were to preach in his name, not merely a doctrine for the nations to hear, but a constitution to which they were required to surrender themselves, in order that they might be saved. The new organization was to be formed, and held together, by those who were thus authorized and empowered to carry into effect officially its conditions and terms. Hence the Church is said to be builded upon Peter, as the central representative of the college of the Apostles (Matth. 16: 18;) and in another place, again, (Eph. 2: 20,) "upon the foundation of the apostles and prophets, Jesus Christ himself being the chief corner stone." So in the passage we have taken for our text, the Ministry both in its extraordinary and ordinary character, is exhibited as the great agency which Christ is pleased to employ for the edification of his mystical body. There is no room then for the theory, by which the Church at large, or any particular part of it, is taken to be the depository in the first instance, of all the grace and force which belong to the ministerial office, just as in a political organization the body of the people may be supposed to contain in themselves primarily the powers with which they choose to invest their own officers and magistrates. The order of dependence here is not ascending but descending. The law of derivation is downwards and not upwards, from the few to the many, and not from the many to the few. The basis of Christianity, as it meets us in the New Testament, is not the popular mind and popular will as such in any form or shape. It starts from Christ. It reaches the world through the mediation of his ministers. Their mission is from him only. "As my Father hath sent me," he says, (John 20: 21,) "even so send I you." They are overseers set over the house of God by the Holy Ghost. By whatever names they may be distinguished, apostles, prophets,

presbyters, rulers, or pastors, their office is in its essential constitution episcopal. They are shepherds under Him who is the Chief Shepherd, clothed by delegation with his authority, and appointed to have charge of the flock in his name, (1 Peter 5: 2-4,) with a power so real in its own sphere, and so absolutely irresponsible, at the same time, in any democratic or republican sense, that they are warned before Christ not to use it as lords over God's heritage. However well then the famous watchword may sound for the popular ear: "A Church without a bishop, and a State without a king," it must be held to be, so far at least as the first part of it is concerned, absolutely treasonable to the true conception of Christianity. The question is not of the episcopal office in some special given form; but of the office in its broad New Testament sense, as involving the idea of a real pastoral jurisdiction over the Church, representing in it immediately the authority of Jesus Christ, and deriving its force from the sovereignty of heaven and earth to which he has been advanced by his resurrection from the dead.

To say that there may be a Church without a bishop, in such view, a purely republican assembly of Christians in simply lay capacity, able to generate and produce from itself a full, valid ministration of the mystery of grace contained in the Gospel, without the intervention, in any way, of the ministry constituted and commissioned for the purpose by the ascended Saviour himself; to say, in other words, that the Church is before the Ministry, in the order of existence, and in no way dependent upon it, but complete without it, (the very thing the maxim *does* mean to say, if it has any meaning whatever,) is a heresy which at once strikes at the root of all faith in the supernatural constitution of the Church, and turns both the apostolical commission and the gift of Pentecost into a solemn farce.

Both from its origin, as already considered, and from its design, which yet remains to be considered, it may be inferred with necessary consequence that the office in question must be a single institution, in harmony with itself in all its parts. The commission given to the Apostles implied that they were to act in concert. It was not an authority which each one of them was left to himself to exercise, in his own way and for his own

pleasure. It belonged to them only in their collective capacity. They were bound by it to the real and fixed constitution of grace with which it was concerned, in the capacity of a college or corporation. And so as the Ministry assumed other forms, whether ordinary or extraordinary, it remained necessarily subject still to the power of the same law. Just as among the Jews, the Priesthood was one, though the Priests were many and of different orders; so in the Christian Church, however the Ministers might be multiplied, and the forms of their office varied, the office itself could be of force only as it retained always the character of a single body bound together, and in union with itself. As there can be by the very conception of Christianity, but one faith, one baptism, and one Church, so can there be also but one Ministry; and this unity must be taken to extend to all times and ages, as well as to all lands.

And thus we have, in the next place, the idea of apostolical succession; and along with that the conception also of ordination, as the veritable channel through which is transmitted mystically, from age to age, the supernatural authority in which this succession consists. It is easy, of course, to deride everything of this sort, and to make sport with the notion of a tactual communication, as it is sneeringly styled, of heavenly powers, and of grace that is supposed to trickle from consecrated fingers in the imposition of hands; but it comes certainly with a very bad grace from those who pretend to make a merit of their respect for the Bible. The Old Testament is full of this way of ordering spiritual things; and in the New Testament also exemplifications of it occur on all sides. The derision in question only serves to reveal and expose the unbelieving habit of mind from which it proceeds. What is in truth the subject of sceptical scorn in the case, is the existence in the world of any such supernatural constitution, any such mystery of faith, as the Church claims to be in virtue of her derivation from him who has "ascended up far above all heavens, that he might fill all things." The mockery regards the whole reality of the order of grace, as an abiding economy among men, different from the order of nature and above it. Let this first conception be admitted, with some felt sense of its

being a fact, and not merely a speculation or notion ; and then it will be easy comparatively to allow also all other points belonging in any way to the same grand article of faith. Sacramental grace will follow as a matter of course. And so will the idea of the Ministry, as an institution proceeding from Christ's commission, and armed with power by his Spirit, and having all its force accordingly in the unity and perpetuity of its first appointment. This involves succession ; and the succession, to be valid, must be kept up in some way within the bosom of the institution itself. For, as we have seen, this holds not from the natural life of the world, nor even from the higher life of the Church collectively taken, but directly and wholly from the commission and ordination of Christ ; and so can be maintained with its original character from age to age, only as it may have power to transmit the actual virtue of this first supernatural appointment from one generation still onward to another.

It remains to notice finally, under our present head, the force and power of the office. It is not properly of this world ; for the sphere of existence to which it belongs is that higher economy of the Spirit, which has been introduced by the triumph of Christ over the whole constitution of nature. The virtue which it carries in itself for its own ends, therefore, is not to be measured by any merely natural or worldly standard. The preaching of the cross is foolishness to the Greek and a stumbling block to the Jew, we are told, and yet the wisdom and power of God for salvation to them that believe. "The weapons of our warfare," St. Paul says, (2 Cor. 10 : 4) "are not carnal, but mighty through God to the pulling down of strong holds." The power of the Ministry stands not in the wisdom, or eloquence, or art and policy of men in any form. It is a quality derived from the kingdom of Christ, and answerable to its heavenly constitution. In its own form and sphere, however, it has to do with relations that are most real, and takes hold of interests which are lasting and solemn as eternity itself. It involves the stewardship of the mysteries of God, (1 Cor. 4 : 2,) the administration of the keys of the kingdom of heaven, (Matth. 16 : 19 ; 18 : 18 ; John 20 : 23,)

the negotiation of the terms of eternal life, (Mark 16: 16; 2 Cor. 2: 15, 16; 5: 18-20.) All this supernatural force, in the case of those by whom it is thus exercised, is of course official and not personal. It belongs to the institution of the Ministry, and not to the men privately considered who may be charged at any given time with the sacred trust. Their personal character may come in to enforce or to prejudice its claims to respect; but the claims themselves are independent of this, and rest upon other ground altogether. They go with the office; and the whole case supposes, that so long as it may be held to its legitimate form this will be found true and equal to the purposes of its original institution. Even a simply human organization, where the mind and action of the individual functionary are necessarily ruled by the spirit of the body as a whole, is found to have a wonderful power of self-consistency and self-conservation in this way; as we may see, for instance, in the case of our civil courts, where the decisions of a judge, circumscribed and controled by the fixed relations of his office in the general system of which it is a part, are something very different from his merely personal will, and carry with them rightly and safely an authority to which out of such position he could lay no good claim whatever. And why should it be thought strange then, if the same law of organized corporate life, raised from the sphere of nature to the sphere of grace, and having to do with the "powers of the world to come," be represented as carrying with it in the Church, by virtue of Christ's Spirit, not only a general moral security, but an absolutely infallible guaranty, for the truth and trustworthiness of its results? What less than this can the commission mean, that clothes the Ministry with Christ's own authority, and requires the nations to bow to it under penalty of damnation? Whatever may be said of single ministers in their private character, or in particular acts of their office, the institution as a whole, and taken in its corporate unity, must be held to be equal in full to the terms of this appointment. It cannot prove false and recreant to its supernatural trust. "On this rock," Christ says, "I build my Church: He that heareth you, heareth me; and he that despiseth you, despiseth me: Lo, I am with you always, even to the end of the world."

III. We come now, in the third place, to the DESIGN of the Christian Ministry.

The whole office is, as St. Paul expresses it, "for the perfecting of the saints, for the work of the ministry, for the edifying of the body of Christ: till we all come in the unity of the faith, and of the knowledge of the Son of God, unto a perfect man, unto the measure of the stature of the fulness of Christ. That we henceforth be no more children, tossed to and fro, and carried about with every wind of doctrine, by the sleight of men, and cunning craftiness, whereby they lie in wait to deceive; but speaking the truth in love, may grow up into him in all things, which is the head, even Christ: from whom the whole body fitly joined together, and compacted by that which every joint supplieth, according to the effectual working in the measure of every part, maketh increase of the body unto itself in love."

Here we have the great thought, which may be said to form the key note of this whole Epistle to the Ephesians, Christ "head over all things to the Church, which is his body, the fulness of him that filleth all in all." The Church is no congregation merely of persons professing Christianity, brought together in an outward way, the result in such view of private and separate piety supposed to be brought to pass under such form on the outside of its communion. It is a living constitution which starts from Christ himself, in virtue of his resurrection from the dead, forms the home of the Spirit in the world, and includes in itself powers altogether above nature for the accomplishment of its own heavenly ends; within the bosom of which only is comprehended all the grace that men need for their salvation, as truly as deliverance from the Flood was to be found only within the Ark in the days of Noah. Here is the forgiveness of sins, the illumination of the Holy Ghost, the manna of heaven, the communion of saints, the victory of faith, the resurrection of the dead, and the life everlasting. And these benefits are conditioned by the vitality of the whole system or constitution to which they belong. Thus the Church is viewed as being to Christ in the world of grace, what the body is to the head in the natural world. It is the form in which he re-

veals his presence among men through the Spirit, and the organ by which he carries into effect the purposes of his grace. His people in this view are members of himself, and at the same time "members one of another," by their common relationship to the Church. "For as the body is one," the Apostle writes, (1 Cor. 12 : 12, 13; Comp. Rom. 12 : 5,) "and hath many members, and all the members of that one body, being many, are one body ; so also is Christ. For by one Spirit are we all baptized into one body, whether we be Jews or Gentiles, whether we be bond or free ; and have been all made to drink into one Spirit." It is, as comprehended in the general organization of the Church, that its members grow up more and more into him who is the head, and this process of growth on their part is, at the same time, the edification of the Church as a whole.

The mystery of the general Christian life goes forward thus by the activity of its several parts, working unitedly together for a common end, in obedience to the law of its own supernatural constitution. The whole is an organic process. The growth of the Church is carried forward by the growth of its members ; while at the same time the plastic power from which this last comes resides only in the Church itself. There it flows from Christ, through the Spirit, fashioning and building up the new nature according to its own divine type. Its operation is primarily by the faith and knowledge of the Son of God, that living apprehension of the truth as it is in Christ, which faith only has power to produce, when brought into communication with the realities of the Gospel in their own sphere. Such knowledge is, as far as it goes, an actual entrance into the truth itself, and so a real participation in the life of him who is the absolute light of the world. What serves thus to redeem the understanding from darkness, brings into the will also the law of charity or love ; which becomes then a perpetual fountain of grace, and the source of all Christian sanctification. Such wealth of salvation, according to the Apostle, is comprehended in the knowledge of Jesus Christ as it is made possible to men in the Church ! His prayer for Christians was accordingly, that God might give unto them the Spirit of wis-

dom and revelation in this form, the eyes of their understanding being enlightened, to know the hope of his calling, and the riches of the glory of his inheritance in the saints, and the exceeding greatness of his power towards them who believe, (Eph. 1: 17-19.) His soul struggles seemingly with the greatness of the theme, and no language is found strong enough in its service. "For this cause," he says, (Eph. 3: 14-19,) "I bow my knees unto the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, of whom the whole family in heaven and earth is named, that he would grant you, according to the riches of his glory, to be strengthened with might by his Spirit in the inner man; that Christ may dwell in your hearts by faith; that ye, being rooted and grounded in love, may be able to comprehend with all saints, what is the breadth, and length, and depth, and height; and to know the love of Christ, which passeth knowledge, that ye might be filled with all the fulness of God."

So in our text, the edification of the body of Christ is represented as going forward by the perfecting of the saints in this very process of faith and knowledge; whose scope is "the measure of the stature of the fulness of Christ;" and through which, "speaking the truth in love," or rather as the original word means, *being one with the truth* in love, it is their privilege to "grow up into him in all things, which is the head," from whom the power of growth and spiritual completion is conveyed to the whole Church.

And here it is precisely, we say, that the Christian Ministry has its grand purpose and use. It is the agency, through whose intervention in the Church, Christ is pleased by his Spirit to provide for the building up of his people in the faith and hope of the gospel unto everlasting life. The representation of the Apostle implies that the faith and knowledge of the Son of God, by which the saints are carried forward towards their proper perfection, are conditioned by this arrangement as its necessary medium. And how much again this involves may be understood, by considering what results are supposed to be reached after and gained by its means. The case has to do with the mysteries of the kingdom of God, with the treasures of wisdom which are hid in Jesus Christ, with the deep

things of the Spirit which surpass all natural thought and comprehension. It has to do with a knowledge that begins altogether in faith, and supposes, therefore, an actual order of supernatural life and truth answerable to such faith, brought home to the soul in the form of revelation, and challenging its implicit submission. The obedience of faith, as it is called, is made to be in this way, over against all speculation and opinion, the ground of the whole Christian salvation. Men are required to surrender themselves to the economy of the gospel, in order that they may be formed by it to its own purposes and ends; and it is assumed, that in doing so they will come really and truly under the action of the truth as it is in Christ, so as to be no longer children, tossed to and fro, and carried about with every wind of doctrine, by the sleight of men, and cunning craftiness, whereby they lie in wait to deceive; but having their very being in the element of truth and charity, may grow up in all things into him who is the head, even Christ. When we are told then, that the Ministry is the agency by which all this is brought to pass, we are not only enabled to form some right conception of its design, but from this come to see again what must necessarily be its constitution, agreeably to what we have already found to be true of the same, in looking at it from the side simply of its supernatural origin. The nature of the office is determined and explained by the object it is formed to serve, no less than by the source from which it springs; and from this view full as much as from the other, may be easily found to require all the qualifications which we have before shown it to possess. In no other form could it mediate safely between Christ and his Church, and promote the perfecting of the saints, "till we all come in the unity of the faith and of the knowledge of the Son of God," as distinguished from the winds and waves of all merely human doctrine, "unto a perfect man, unto the measure of the stature of the fulness of Christ."

IN CONCLUSION, it becomes us to consider seriously, from the whole subject, what are the general tests and conditions of a true Ministry, and to ponder well the misery and danger of a false one, both for those who exercise it and for those who trust themselves to its care.

The Ministry, under its true form, supposes, as we have seen, a divine commission, a strictly supernatural appointment and source. And as there has been in fact but one such commission, that which was given by Christ when he passed into the heavens as head over all things to the Church, it must be able, all the world over and through all time, to refer itself to this as the actual charter of its authority, in clear exclusion of every other title pretending to take its place.

From this it follows necessarily, in the next place, that the Ministry under its true form, wherever it exists, must be comprehended in the unity of the office as a whole, and so also at the same time in the unity of that one true Church which we all own and acknowledge, as an object of faith, in the Apostles' Creed. One Lord, one faith, one baptism. All starts from Christ; all subsists by his Spirit; all rests on the same foundation of the apostles and prophets. The very thought of a loose and divided Ministry, in such a constitution, destroys itself, by overthrowing the conception on which alone the whole authority of the office must rest. To see and feel the reality of the commission from which it flows, is at once to see and feel also that it must be in union and harmony with itself through all its parts, that it must have the character of a single organization, and that the whole force of it must fall to the ground whenever it is pretended to sever it from such connection, and to exercise its functions in an independent and isolated way. In any government, the powers by which it exists and carries on its affairs, must form one single constitution. However they may be distributed, they must remain still bound together as one orb, whose parts all meet in the unity of a common centre. Laws, titles, offices, functions, all have force only by virtue of their comprehension in the order which originates and sustains the whole. To think of powers being validly exercised, or rights validly claimed, in the name of the government, without regard to this order, would be a monstrous contradiction. And can it be any less monstrous to suppose the possibility of any similar disruption of authority and office in the kingdom of Christ, and under the great seal which imparts to the Christian Ministry its supernatural warrant and force? "Is

Christ divided?" May the same seal be attached here to different ministries, in no connection with one another, held by no common law, and moving in no common sphere? Is the connection something which a man may carry away with him wherever he pleases, to use in his private capacity as to himself shall seem right and good? The imagination is preposterously absurd. The force of the commission holds only in the office considered as a whole. To rend it from this unity, is to reduce it to nothing.

And so from this we have, by necessary consequence again, the third condition of a true Ministry, namely, submission to a living rule or order in which this unity of office may be actually exhibited in a real way, as a fact coming down from the time of the Apostles. To act officially in any polity, the single functionary must not only join himself with its general organization, but in doing so must bow also to the authority which already belongs to it as an actually existing constitution in its own sphere. How much more is it meet and fit that this should be the case also, where the administration regards the supernatural constitution of the Church, and the mysteries of the kingdom of God! Christianity, in its very nature, involves the idea of authority, under a form not dependent on human thought or will; so that here above all, the conception of office must be taken to imply, at the same time, submission to the actual polity or order from which it springs, regarded as a living permanent constitution. And if this polity be represented by the unity of the Ministry, as we have seen it to be, there must be a line of historical continuance by which both together shall be found falling back to the great commission, in which the Church originally took its start. The unity of the Ministry in this way is not the consent merely of any number of men, whether many or few, who may agree to take the office upon them and exercise it in the same way. It exists always as a historical fact already at hand, and dating from the day of Pentecost, to the authority of which in such view, accordingly, all must bow, who are brought from time to time to have part truly in its commission.

Such seem to be necessarily, from the nature of the subject,

the great tests of the Christian Ministry in its legitimate and true form. Where these are wanting, we may have the show and sham, but not, it is to be feared, the reality of the sacred office. It is hardly necessary to say, however, how widely different from all this is the reigning popular view of the subject, especially in our own country at the present time. Few appear to make serious account either of the supernatural commission of the Ministry, or of its necessary unity, or of its dependence upon an actual succession in this form, handed down from the time of the Apostles. Indeed nothing is more common, than to hear ministers themselves, those at least who call themselves such, openly deriding every requirement of this nature, as a sort of exploded superstition, fit only for Catholics and Old Testament *Jews*. Any evangelical sect, they take it, has power to originate the office for its own use; or at all events may be satisfied if it has been able to carry off with it some small fragment or particle of an older succession, in breaking away violently from some other Church; as Micah felt that all was right, when he obtained a wandering Levite for his priest, (Judges 17 : 7-13;) or as the children of Dan considered it an object afterwards to steal away the same unprincipled priest, and to make him the source of a new, separate priesthood for their own false worship. (Judges 18 : 18-31.) The flaw of schism, in such a case, is not felt to be of any consequence; for the persons in question have no sense whatever of the necessary oneness or corporate solidarity of the sacred office. They laugh at the idea of its legitimacy and force being conditioned, in their own case or in the case of others, by any such relation. They are bound by no such consciousness. Their commission is felt to be a sort of private property, which holds good to themselves directly and separately, from the great head of the Church. Enough, it may be, that it is acknowledged by a single congregation. Or, at most, that it is comprehended in the organized ministry of some particular sect. They care for no wider comprehension. And with such unbelieving indifference to the idea of the Church as a present whole, how should they be expected to have any such faith in its historical character, as to feel the least real concern about

the derivation of their title through its living succession in past ages. The only authority they think it necessary to bow to, in such view, is the constitution and tradition again of their own sect. What though this be only of yesterday, and its creed confessedly a mere opinion or "persuasion?" They are willing to trust themselves blindly to its guidance, and then make a merit of what they call their Christian liberty and independence by throwing off all respect for Church authority under every broader and older view.

Need we say that such a habit of thought always involves in its last analysis, an entire want of faith in the supernatural constitution of the Church, and in the divine order of the Ministry as we have had it under consideration at this time. We have a right to say of it, indeed, that it is absolutely at war with the mystery of Christianity from first to last. It substitutes for it another Gospel.

By comprehending what the Ministry involves in its true form, we are prepared to understand how great must be the calamity of a false Ministry for all who are concerned with it in any way. It is by its very nature an imposture and usurpation, where it is most dreadful to think of any such outrageous wrong. By pretending to be the truth, at the same time, under such false character, it contradicts and opposes the truth itself in its own proper form. It belongs in this way necessarily to the realm of Antichrist. For this precisely is the true conception of the power we call Antichrist, that it exalts itself against Christ by wickedly thrusting itself into his place, and seeking to pass itself off under his name. The grand criterion of the spirit, according to St. John, (1 John 4: 3,) is just this, that it "confesseth not that Jesus Christ is come in the flesh;" is not willing to know and own the actual of a new and higher order of life in him as the Word made Flesh for us men and our salvation; but pertinaciously insists on resolving the whole mystery of godliness," (1 Tim. 3: 16,) either directly or indirectly, into the form of a mere abstract spiritualism belonging to nature in its own sphere. Thus a spurious Christ, existing only in the thought and fancy of men, and having no power to effect a real union, and so a real reconcil-

iation between the natural and supernatural worlds, is set up in mockery and rivalry of the true Christ, and made to challenge the faith of the world under the usurpation of his glorious name. And what else is it but the same spirit at work, when the true supernatural constitution of the Church, proceeding as this does from the mystery of the incarnation "justified in the Spirit"—the Son of Man received up into glory—is ignored, or virtually denied, and made to be practically of no account, by the substitution for it of another conception altogether, reducing it in fact to a simply rationalistic and natural form! Or when, in full conformity with this, the supernatural origin of the Ministry is sublimated into a sort of Gnostic idealism merely, its commission converted into a religious myth, the idea of its necessary unity and apostolical succession derided as a silly dream of the middle ages, and an institution of wholly different form and nature, excluding these characteristics in their true sense altogether, is brought forward and exhibited as fully equal to all the purposes and ends of the sacred office? Could any presumption more certainly refer itself, by St. John's criterion, to the domain of Antichrist? Whatever any such false Ministry may affect or pretend, it is a Ministry in truth, not of faith, but of unbelief, not of righteousness, but of sin. It practically proclaims God a liar, (1 John 5: 10,) by "not believing the record that he has given of his Son," not owning the mystery of the Gospel in its own form, but daring to put it into another form agreeably to its own taste. Christ, having risen from the dead, establishes his Church as a constitution above nature, and in virtue of the power that belongs to him as the fountain and head of this new creation solemnly commissions the Ministry in his own form, clothing it in a real way with powers answerable to the economy to which it belongs, and promising to surround it with the guaranty of his own presence in the Spirit through all time; bids it go teach all nations, baptizing them into his name; makes salvation to depend on believing and obeying the order which he has been pleased thus, in his sovereign goodness, to appoint. And now, in the face of all this, the false ministry of which we are speaking stands forward, and preaches to men that salvation depends

on no such special constitution whatever, and that if they will but trust themselves to *its* guidance all may be expected to come out right in the end. Is not this, we ask again, the very spirit of Antichrist? And what shall we say of those, who commit themselves to the care of such an episcopate, in the prosecution of eternal life? The very thought is dismal in the extreme, and the case, if Christianity be more than a dream, one of the most deplorable that can well be presented to the contemplation of a believing mind.

Of such vast significance is the question concerning a true Ministry and the true Church. It has to do, not merely with the accidental form of Christianity, but with its inmost constitution and life. All are bound, as they value their salvation, to look well to the nature of the commission and charter under which they propose to secure this all important object. Indifference with regard to the matter, is itself a just occasion for apprehension and alarm; for it implies at once serious infidelity towards the whole subject—infidelity at the very point too, where Christ makes all to depend on faith, when he says; “He that *believeth*, and is baptized, shall be saved, but he that *believeth not* shall be damned.” As every minister is bound to be well assured, that he is a minister, not merely of this or that sect, but of the true Church Catholic, and has part thus in that one great commission from which hangs the unity of the whole office; so also are all other persons under obligation to satisfy themselves, on good and sufficient grounds, that they are in the bosom of the Church in its true form, and under the guidance and care of a legitimate and true Ministry.

CHARGE TO THE PROFESSOR.

DEAR BROTHER IN THE LORD:

You have now been fully inducted into your office, as Professor of Didactic and Practical Theology in the Theological Seminary of the German Reformed Church in the United States. The circumstances in which you are thus placed are fraught with interest and solemnity. You are manifestly entering upon the most important career of your life. Whatever may have been the positions you have, in the Providence of God, been permitted to occupy heretofore, none can equal your present one in point of moment. You will, therefore, suffer a few words of counsel, which I may be induced to address to you, in discharge of the duty assigned me in the solemnities of the present occasion.

In the first place, I would affectionately remind you of the peculiar responsibility of the position you have this day assumed. You have doubtless carefully and prayerfully looked at this feature of it, before deciding to venture upon it. It may not be amiss, however, briefly to direct your attention to it again. Upon you hereafter will devolve, in connection with those who may be associated with you in the same work, the duty of training young men for the important office of the ministry of the Gospel. This is truly a responsible service. He who occupies the direct relation to the Church of a minister of the Gospel, has weighty responsibilities resting upon him. To him, in a most emphatic sense, is entrusted the welfare of immortal souls. This responsibility, however, must be greatly increased in the case of those to whom is committed the special duty of training the ministry for their responsible position. The fitness of the ministry for their work and the consequent success of their labors, depend, in a great measure, upon the kind of training they have received during their period of preparation. For the very cast of piety by which the rising ministry are distinguished, as well as their distinctive modes of

thought, their views of duty, and their plans of active operation in their respective spheres of labor, is likewise determined, to a very great extent, by the character of the influences to which they have been subjected in the midst of this same moulding process. This truth is perhaps not as generally realized as might be expected. A little observation, however, will be sufficient to satisfy any intelligent mind of its correctness. If its force, therefore, be admitted, it cannot fail to impress the mind with a deep sense of the intimate connection subsisting between the position of a Professor in a Theological Seminary and the success of the ministry of the Gospel in the important work assigned them; and of the consequent weighty responsibility resting upon one occupying the sphere upon which you have this day formally entered.

In the second place, permit me briefly to advert to some of the specific duties which will devolve upon you in your present position, in order that its weighty responsibilities may be properly met.

Let me then exhort you to give special attention to the cultivation of proper habits of piety in the young men who shall be entrusted to your care. This duty will devolve upon you, in common with those associated with you in the same work. It is one of the most important that can claim the attention of a Professor in a Theological Seminary; and yet, it is to be feared, that, in some instances at least, it does not receive that special attention which its great importance demands. The fitness of the ministry for their work is to be measured, to a very great extent, by the character of their piety. Intellectual training, it must be admitted, is of the very highest importance to the ministry of the Gospel. It is rendered valuable, however, only when it is sanctified by the presence of deep-toned piety. In the absence of the latter, the former only fits its possessor for interposing the more formidable obstacles in the way of the real progress of the kingdom of Christ. In discharging this important duty towards their pupils, the professors in a Theological Seminary, should exercise over them a special pastoral care. They should at all times, in their intercourse with them, endeavor to acquaint themselves with their

spiritual condition, impart unto them such counsel and direction as their circumstances require, and strive, in every appropriate way, to encourage in them the formation of habits of the most deep-toned piety. They should do this, not only from a regard to the prospective usefulness of their pupils, lying as it does, at the very foundation of success in their ministrations; but also from a regard to their personal salvation, so that when they have preached to others, they may not at last themselves be found to be cast-a-ways.

The duty to which I have thus far referred, as has been already intimated, belongs to you in common with those participating with you in the office of teaching in the Seminary. There are others which devolve more especially upon you in the particular department you have been called to fill; and these must receive at least a passing notice, before it will be proper to close my present remarks. The Professorship into which you have been inducted has been designated as the "Professorship of Didactic and Practical Theology." This title plainly indicates the nature of the specific duties you will be expected to perform.

From the first term employed in this title, it is manifest, that it will be required of you to endeavor, according to the best of your ability, to make the students committed to your care, perfectly familiar with the system of religious truths, as these are distinctive of Christianity, and thus to indoctrinate them fully in the principles of the Gospel of Jesus Christ. In your efforts to accomplish this end, it will be necessary to have a constant reference to the fact, that, in the several spheres they may subsequently occupy, it will be expected of them to unfold these truths clearly to others; to hold them up and enforce them also, in all their practical bearings; and likewise, to defend them successfully against the various assaults of enemies. In the discharge of this part of your duty, you will be expected, in the language of the solemn obligation you have assumed, to "make the inviolable divine authority of the Holy Scriptures, and the truth of the doctrine contained in the Heidelberg Catechism, the basis of all your instructions." The former is to be regarded as containing all things which relate

to the faith, the practice and the hope of the righteous; and as constituting the only rule of faith and practice in the Church of God, so that no traditions, as they are called, and no mere conclusions of reason contrary to the clear testimony of the Scriptures, can be received as rules of faith or of life. And the latter is to be received as containing, in a convenient summary form, the doctrine of the Holy Scriptures. In carrying forward your instructions upon the particular basis thus pointed out, with a view to indoctrinate the students committed to your care in the principles of the Gospel, it should be your constant aim, to make them, not only sound in the faith, but also workmen, that need not be ashamed, rightly dividing the word of truth.

The second term in the title employed to designate the Professorship to which you have been called, indicates, that to you will be specially entrusted the duty of preparing the young men who shall sit under your instructions, for turning to practical account in the active duties of the ministry, the varied furniture with which they may have been provided during their course of study, by way of qualifying them for their important work. In this particular sphere, it will be expected of you, to endeavor to familiarize them with the secret springs of human action, and to teach them how to form their various plans of usefulness and carry them out with the greatest prospect of success. It will be your duty, to impress indelibly upon their minds, the necessity and importance of mingling from day to day, as much as possible, with the different members of their flock, familiarizing themselves with their wants and contributing to their relief; and especially to teach them how to so shape their intercourse with their people, as to ensure from it, the most happy results. In a word, it will devolve upon you to instruct them how to labor out of the pulpit, as well as in it, so as to make their various ministrations effectually subserve the important ends they are designed to promote.

The particular duty to which I have just referred, is a most important one, and one too, which, it is to be feared, has been only too much neglected in the most of our Theological Seminaries in time past. To this neglect, it is doubtless owing,

that, at the present day, whilst we have so many able and instructive preachers, we have comparatively so few efficient and successful pastors. For, it matters not how excellent our pulpit performances may be, they will accomplish comparatively nothing, if they are not faithfully followed up by labors of a more personal and private character. And in view of the particular defect to which I have referred, it is no wonder that some excellent men have been led even to question the utility of Theological Seminaries for preparing candidates for the ministry, as compared with the method of preparation under the private instruction of an active pastor, pursued by our forefathers.

It is a gratifying fact, however, that the religious public have of late years been becoming specially alive to this want, and are laboring with commendable efficiency to provide for its removal. Professorships of Practical Theology are being established in nearly all our Theological Seminaries, and filled with men specially qualified for the duties they impose. Our own Church has happily caught up the spirit of the general movement, and in the selection of yourself for the particular post to which you have been called, I have no doubt but that distinct reference was had on the part of many, to your past experience as an efficient and successful pastor. Let me then counsel you, to give special attention to the particular duties which will devolve upon you as Professor of Practical Theology, so that the students who may be privileged to share your instructions, shall become men distinguished not only for their learning and pulpit talents, but also for their working powers, turning every thing they possess to practical account, in the way of promoting the interests of the Redeemer's kingdom.

With these few counsels, honestly, though it may be imperfectly expressed, we would affectionately commit you and the particular cause entrusted to your care, to the Great Head of the Church, praying that he may be ever present with you, to guide you with his counsel and replenish you with his grace, so that you may always be found to be an efficient and successful teacher in our School of the Prophets.

INAUGURAL ADDRESS.

THAT my mind is deeply affected by the circumstances under which I appear before you at this time, may well be conceived. I am about to take the place, in the Theological Seminary of the German Reformed Church, of a divine, as distinguished for his rare Christian virtues, as for his powerful intellect and ripe scholarship. To attempt his eulogy before this audience, would be superfluous. Nothing, that I could say, would increase the estimation in which he is held; and when I express profound regret that he was led to retire from a post, which no one is likely to fill with equal credit to himself and advantage to the cause of theological science, I only give utterance to the general sentiment.

The responsibility I thus assume, would be sufficiently trying to the sensibilities of a man of thorough mental training, and of large experience in the fulfilment of the duties of the station. In my case, the full consciousness of deficiency in these respects, together with a due sense of the importance of the position to which I have been called, at the present conjuncture of affairs in our Church, painfully oppresses me.

The state of the Church at large also adds to my embarrassment. It is very much unsettled. With great vagueness, as well as diversity of opinion respecting the doctrines of the Bible, there is an equal misapprehension in regard to divine institutions. According to the popular theory, the family is scarcely of this character—certainly not the State. Governments, we are usually told, originate with the people, and to say that "the powers that be are ordained of God," would be political heresy.

It would not be an easy matter to define the character of the Church, in popular estimation. If it exist at all, in concrete visible form, any association of individuals for religious worship, may be considered a church. It requires no particular organization—has no specific authority, and no peculiar sacredness

of character. The ministry is equally destitute of such claims. The worship of the sanctuary is made up chiefly of rhetorical exhibitions; and the sacraments—especially the Lord's Supper, as a memorial of Christ's death—are rites proper to be observed, but of nothing more than moral efficacy. Such opinions prevail to a large extent. Now, it is not to be expected that all men should trouble themselves with subtle scholastic criticisms upon the sacred text, or with abstruse speculations in reference to the constitution of the Church, or the sublime mysteries of our holy religion. It is, however, important that all men should have clear conceptions of saving truth, otherwise they may be led into dangerous error. They should also have a just appreciation of divine ordinances as means of grace, or they will be tempted to resort to inventions of their own, and their religious services will frequently degenerate into cold formality, or wild fanaticism.

Nor is this all, or the worst, that may be said of the existing state of the Church. As the natural result of vague and various opinions upon religious subjects, there is no cordial union or coöperation among professing Christians—at variance in their views of divine truth, their experiences are different, and they can have no sincere sympathies. With occasional intercourse and interchange of kind feeling, they seldom participate in each others counsels, or assist in each others labors. When, as it sometimes happens, they occupy the same field, a spirit of emulation and rivalry is soon elicited, and jealousy and suspicion separate and keep them apart. Generous and noble spirits, ready to unite in every good work, are to be met with in all confessions, but no two denominations, in their ecclesiastical capacity, can be brought in this way to coöperate. The tendencies are of an opposite character. This is undeniably true of the existing denominations in Protestant christendom. Facts of recent occurrence, in the history of our American Churches, bear melancholy witness to the truth of these statements.

It may be said, that this after all is no great evil. The divisions in the Church lead to greater exertion, and more is done than would otherwise be the case. But is it not a libel

on the Gospel, to suppose that the spirit of emulation which it condemns is more efficient than the spirit of charity which it enjoins? Besides, the good which it effects must be equivocal in its character, and can never compensate for the jealousy and ill will, and other forms of evil to which it gives rise.

Nor are these the only difficulties which disturb the Church. The original league between the powers of earth and hell for its destruction still exists, and the adversary at the head of it carries on the warfare with great skill and perseverance. When unable to accomplish his end by direct assault, he resorts to covert means, and seeks to strip the Church of influence, where he cannot resist its power. It is so contrived, accordingly, that the interests of education and charity, which properly belong to the Church, are taken out of the hands of professing Christians and committed to the management and control of irreligious men. In this way the spirit of the world enters and reigns within the sanctuary. In many instances, the pastors of large and wealthy congregations derive their chief support from men of the world, and though they may have it in their hearts faithfully to fulfil their duties, they must nevertheless be careful not to come too violently in conflict with the cherished opinions and prejudices of those upon whom they depend for the comfortable circumstances in which they and their families are placed.

In view of these, and other difficulties, in the Protestant Church, there are earnest-minded men whose confidence in its existing organizations is very much impaired, and it is with them a serious question, whether in their present form they can be sustained. The interest in this question is increased by recent events in Europe. Every thing there, in the spheres of religion and politics is unsettled, and the elements at work are antagonistic in their character, and of great power. The ultimate issue we need not fear. The Church will be carried safely through. But we can scarcely expect that the existing agitation will be composed, without effecting great changes in the condition both of Church and State. Their institutions cannot be maintained in their present form. They have waxed old, like a garment, and must be laid aside and give place to

others, the product organically of a new order of things. In the mean time, the Church will be exposed to peril, and the faith and patience of the saints will be severely tried. The best hope is, that in the general wreck, the connexion between the Church and the State will be dissolved, and that each will be left free, in its proper sphere, to the employment of its own resources, in the fulfilment of its proper functions.

The misfortune is, that in Europe, and especially in Germany, the Church is unaccustomed to this sort of self-reliance and independent exertion. Their divines speculate profoundly, but they are deficient in practical talent. Were they more active, carrying out their theories into practice, we would look with greater confidence for valuable results, as the fruit of their labors. American Christianity, unfortunately fails in the opposite direction. We are so absorbed in the pursuit of wealth and material advantages, that we scarcely have time to think of those important questions of the age, relating to the moral and religious improvement of the race, which engage their attention. This is the more to be regretted, as there are those present who will live to see this western continent covered with a teeming population, in the possession of unexampled resources, in the way of intelligence, power and wealth, and unless we transmit to them, not merely our social and political institutions—but what is indispensable to their perpetuity—the Gospel in its purity, a faithful ministry and divine ordinances, we will fail in our duty, and the consequences may be disastrous.

That, in view of a state of things so unfavorable, I shrink from the responsibility of the office to which I have been called, is not surprising. But instead of giving way to distrust and fear, should we not rather rouse ourselves to fervent prayer and active efforts to prevent the evils we dread? That the Church is in trouble, is not a strange thing. It has always been the case. It is wonderful, according to human probabilities, that it still exists. As well might we expect that a spark of fire, kindled on a rock, lashed by the surges of the ocean, would survive a storm, as that the Church should have been able successfully to resist all the assaults, open and disguised, that

have been made upon it from the first. No sooner was it in being, than its destruction was attempted. Throughout the period of the patriarchal dispensation, it often seemed to be in peril. Nor were its peace and prosperity uninterrupted, when those who composed it were established in the land of Canaan, and invested with peculiar privileges as the chosen people of God. It has had similar trials to encounter during the Christian dispensation. It might have been supposed, if the Scriptures had not faithfully admonished us to the contrary, that when the Son of God should ascend again to heaven, and be seated in authority and power at the right hand of the Father, that he would throw over his Church an impenetrable shield of protection, and preserve it safe from the hands of its foes. But such has not been the case. "The heathen" are still permitted to "rage, and the kings of the earth to set themselves, and the rulers to take counsel together against the Lord, and against his anointed." Satan, the great adversary, is now, and until the hour of his total and final defeat, he ever will be, as intent upon the ruin of the Church, as he was when, in the guise of a serpent, he tempted our first parents in the garden of Eden, or when he afterwards assailed the Son of God in the wilderness of Judea. Immediately preceding the Reformation, it seemed as if all true piety had become extinct—the ordinances of worship were perverted to the basest purposes, and the priests at the altar were frequently polluted with the worst of crimes. But by the power of its own imperishable life, derived from its proper spiritual head, the Church either threw off, or corrected much that was wrong, and started under a new form of organization, with fresh vigor, in the work of evangelizing the world. Its troubles, however, have not ceased. Protestantism, as well as primitive Christianity, has had its trials, and will have them again. Its greatest danger now appears to be from internal dissension. And yet we may venture to hope that it will suffer no material harm from this source. The very form which the discussions have assumed, warrants this expectation. They relate to the Church itself, and involve the questions at issue at the time of the Reformation. In the solution of these questions, the most earnest and gifted men in

our day are intensely occupied, and we may venture to hope, as well as sincerely pray, that the results of their investigations will be propitious, establishing the Church upon a firmer basis than ever. The trials of the Church hitherto have always been the prelude to its triumphs, and its sorest conflicts have ever issued in glorious success. They, in fact, have been the processes, by which its energies and proper life have been developed, and its greater prosperity secured.

This, in a remarkable degree, has been our own experience, as a denomination. We too have had our trials. In Europe we had much to endure from persecution and undeserved reproach. In this country we have had a similar experience, with a singular change of the position of our adversaries, and of the nature of the charges brought against us. When the views of truth held by Reformed divines were first embodied in their confessions, it was alleged that they were rationalistic, and allowed too large a liberty to the human mind. The same doctrines taught now, we are told, with a strange inconsistency, are Romanistic in their character, and interfere materially with the right of the individual to interpret the Scriptures for himself. For the last ten years, especially, we have been most unrighteously dealt with. But God has been with us. With Paul we can say: "We have been persecuted, but not forsaken; cast down, but not destroyed." The agitations, which it was thought would divide and distract us, have led to a more cordial understanding, and united us more firmly; and this day the German Reformed Church stands before the world in more perfect unity and greater strength than ever before—more fully conscious of her denominational character and mission—her ecclesiastical position more accurately defined, her past history better understood, her institutions more highly appreciated, her resources more available, and her obligations to use them, in the fulfilment of her proper destiny, more freely and more generally acknowledged.

There is, accordingly, everything in our present condition and prospects to inspire hope. Our position as a Church, geographically considered, is an important one. It is intermediate and extends east and west, not north and south. Thus

situated relatively, our people are not so much exposed to the sectional excitements which have distracted other denominations. They also are chiefly engaged in agricultural pursuits, and industrious and frugal in their habits, they are seen to acquire a firm hold on the material interests of the country. In this respect their advantages are likely to be very great. Their theological position is equally favorable. It is very well known, that there are at this time two opposite tendencies in religion, as well as in politics, especially in this country, where it would seem the moral problems of the age connected with Church and State are to be worked out. In portions of the Protestant Church there is evidently a proclivity towards rationalism, whilst on the other hand, there is an obvious reaction, which, if not kept within proper bounds, may carry those who are brought within the sphere of its influence, into the domain of Romanism. As it regards the rationalistic tendency, it is not the less decided, nor likely to be the less disastrous, because it exists amongst those who are unconscious of it, and who profess to be perfectly secure in the belief of Bible truth, with great show of zeal for its propagation and spread. The danger is particularly with a class of persons, who graduate their piety by the measure of their hatred to Popery, and with great parade of their attachment to the principles of Protestantism, too often ignore their own confessions. This is by no means surprising. Their confessions, originating in opposition to error, as it sprung up from time to time, in the belief or practice, of the Protestant Church, and based also upon principles of mutual antagonism, rather than of direct resistance to the fundamental abuses of Popery, have run themselves out in an extreme way, to their final consequences; and however true they may have been in reference to the errors they were intended to oppose, they do not furnish ground, strong enough, or broad enough, for the Church of the present or future, to stand upon. They grew out of a condition of things no longer existing, and not likely to recur, and having answered the end of their construction at the time, it is no more than might have been expected, that they would gradually lose their hold, as standards of doctrine and tests of communion, upon the re-

spect of those who once avouched them. In regard to these tendencies, the theological position of the German Reformed Church is most auspiciously intermediate, and unmistakably conservative, and it may be that its advantages in these respects may be appreciated and brought into requisition sooner and to an extent greater, than many now expect.

In view of this fact, it is matter of congratulation, that the German Reformed Church, in its opposition to both those tendencies, has been providentially thrown back upon its original principles, as set forth in the Heidelberg Catechism, and manifests at this time a stronger attachment to them than ever. It would be interesting to trace the process and causes by which this has been effected; but to advert to the principles themselves will be more profitable. In doing this, it will be seen that they refer to the fundamental truths of Christianity. They are not simply a protest against error; they are the open unqualified assertion of positive truth. They regard the advent and incarnation of Jesus Christ as the central fact of the Gospel, and the Son of God, the God-man Mediator, as the author and source of salvation. They regard man by nature as totally depraved, and of himself utterly unable to effect his recovery and restoration to the divine favor, and insist upon his regeneration and sanctification, by the operation of the Holy Ghost, in the faithful use of the Word and Sacraments, as divinely appointed means of grace. And whilst they deny that the righteousness of the believer is either the measure, the ground, or the condition of his acceptance with God, and firmly maintain that he is justified freely of grace, through faith, they also hold, that in his regeneration there is, in virtue of his union with Christ as his spiritual head, the principle of a new life imparted to him, that will produce in him the peaceable fruits of righteousness, and fit him for the service of God, so that his justification is not a legal fiction, nor an imaginary result, but an actual fact. They recognize the Church, with its ministry and ordinances, as divine, not only in its origination, by the appointment of God, but as being in fact a divine constitution, for the conversion of the world, and as carrying within itself supernatural elements adapted to this end. They

also hold that the Holy Scriptures are the only sufficient rule and measure of the faith and practice of the Christian. At the same time, they give no countenance to the notion that a formal connexion with the Church, and the use of its ordinances, are sufficient to ensure salvation. They are proper and necessary in their place, but without faith as the gift of God, and without cordial repentance as its appropriate fruit, the attendance upon them avails nothing. Rejecting those loose notions, which disparage the Church, and divine ordinances, they insist upon a vital union with the Lord Jesus—not merely the belief of his doctrines—not merely obedience to his commands—as the very element of all sincere piety, and the starting point of all experimental religion.

Recognizing these truths, we are accustomed to attach great importance to educational religion. By this is not meant learning religion by rote. According to our conception of the phrase, it is the regular training of the young in the “nurture and admonition of the Lord.” There is a wide difference between education and instruction. A man may be instructed without education, but he cannot be educated without instruction. Education is the bringing out of the elements of knowledge received in instruction, and *religious* education is the development, in the form of living principle, of that, which is communicated by the process of instruction, in the form of knowledge. Not only, therefore, is the mind of the religiously educated man instructed, but his affections and will are also influenced and controlled by the truth which he has received. If religion does consist in fact in a thorough and entire change of man’s whole being, and if it is not brought about in an arbitrary magical way, the principle indicated is certainly most reasonable. And if God has devised a method of salvation, we are constrained to believe that it will be most effectual in the case of those, who have not as yet by actual transgression and continuance in sin, familiarized themselves with evil and provoked his displeasure.

We may also suppose that, in any such plan of salvation, the means employed would be appropriate to the end proposed. Persuaded of this, we have no hesitation in asserting, that if the

divine method in the use of the means appointed for the purpose, were fully and faithfully carried out by every family and member of a given community, in covenant with God, it would never fail, but in every instance, would be effectual in bringing those born within the sphere of its influence, as they grew up to years of maturity, under the saving power of the Gospel.

This is implied in the baptism of children. In the use of this holy ordinance they are consecrated to the service of God, are received into covenant with him and are entitled to the privileges and blessings of his kingdom. But if, after they are thus admitted to favor and invested with privileges, there are no means to secure the benefits proposed to be bestowed upon them, and they are to be left exposed to the temptations, that are in the world, then is this sacred and impressive rite without significance. It is utterly useless and no better than solemn mockery.

To the importance of the religious training of the young, the practice of the Churches of the Reformation bears the most decided testimony. The ablest and best men thought their time and talents well employed in the preparation of catechisms for this purpose, and never was the duty more carefully attended to. In one of the confessions of the seventeenth century, it is declared that "children born within the pale of the visible Church and dedicated to God in baptism, are under the inspection and government of the Church, and are to be taught to read and repeat the catechism, the apostle's creed and Lord's prayer. They are to be taught to pray, to abhor sin, to fear God, and obey the Lord Jesus Christ. And when they come to years of discretion, if they be free from scandal, appear sober and steady and have sufficient knowledge to discern the Lord's body, they ought to be informed that it is their duty and their privilege to come to the Lord's Supper." In the German Reformed Church it is required of "every minister to give especial attention to the youth in his congregation, that they may thereby be prepared to make a public profession of religion as members of the Church, and to approach the Lord's table with just views and a proper frame of mind." And "the

members of Consistory, particularly the elders, as shepherds and overseers of the flock, shall be present at the catechetical instructions, as often as it may be practicable, for the purpose of observing the deportment of those who are taught, and their acquaintance with religious truth." And to guard as effectually as possible against the abuses to which all methods of admitting persons to the communion of the Church are liable, it is required that, "before a confirmation, the minister shall diligently examine, in the presence of the elders, whether the applicants for admission to the communion of the Church, rightly understand the doctrines of religion, and whether they manifest their practical influence and purpose to lead a pious life."

Such are the prominent distinguishing features of the German Reformed Church. Surely they are eminently Protestant, evangelical and scriptural. It may also be remarked, that the spirit in which the principles of the Church are set forth in the Heidelberg Catechism, is strictly irenical. This venerable symbol of our faith was prepared, as is well known, for the express purpose of soothing and allaying the bitter animosities which had been produced by the theological discussions of the day. Without compromising truth on either side, or countenancing error in any form, its object was to mediate between the opposing parties and bring their disputes to a close. That it failed in this praiseworthy object, is no more to be laid to its charge, than is the Gospel to be blamed for not converting the world. The fault, in both cases, is to be ascribed to the perverseness of our fallen humanity. We may hope that it will yet succeed, and one day furnish, as it was intended, the ground of reconciliation, upon which all Churches may unite.

There is nothing invidious or unreasonable in this hope. The principles avowed in the Heidelberg Catechism are those in which the Reformers at first, generally concurred. Even upon the sacramental question they did not materially differ. Luther, for a time, acquiesced, or at least did not object, to the views expressed in the Reformed confessions, and it was only when he discovered, as he thought, danger of their losing sight of an important truth, that he took the stand, which has so

long and so unhappily divided the Protestant Church of Germany. The Lutheran and Reformed theories, in fact, are not antagonistic. They are both different and complementary parts of the same doctrine. They both admit a real presence in the eucharist—never indeed denied, or overlooked by divines pretending to orthodoxy, until a later period—and at variance only as to the manner in which that presence obtains.

Whilst, however, the Heidelberg Catechism, in its spirit, is decidedly irenical and conciliatory, as it regards the Protestant confessions, it is directly opposed in its principles to the abuses and perversions of Christianity in the Roman Catholic Church. It is equally opposed to all rationalistic tendencies. In no form does it countenance either. This is the ground which the German Reformed Church of this country has always maintained, and still maintains. It is here precisely, that she feels herself strongest and most secure; and the idea that she is disposed to abandon this position, in one direction or another, is an absurdity conceived either in profound ignorance, or palpable prejudice. It is here, too, upon this ground, that I, with the strongest conviction, profess to stand. No where else, indeed, can I stand. If I forsake it on either side, I place myself in a false position. On the one hand, I would shrink with dismay from committing myself to the waves of a plausible rationalism, which almost imperceptibly, yet not the less certainly, carry their victim into the vortex of scepticism and unbelief. On the other, I should feel myself in danger of making shipwreck of the faith among the rocks and quicksands which lie open or concealed in the opposite direction. With the Heidelberg Catechism for my guide, I hope to steer clear of both. I shun empty formalism and at the same time avoid a false spiritualism, ending always in an outward show of carnal observances—thus serving God in the use of his appointed means of grace, and worshipping him in spirit and in truth.

This is the only safe ground. It is the ground we have ever occupied, as a denomination, and that we must continue to occupy. Consistency demands it. The cause of truth—the interests of pure Protestantism, equally require it at our hands.

The fear of obloquy must never be permitted to drive us from it. I would sooner perish amidst the wreck, and be buried under the ruins of our venerated Church, than to defer in the least to the opposition, which any fits of envy, or jealousy and pride, may be able to array against us. All that can be done, in this way, will do us but little harm. No denomination, indeed, can stand permanently, and prosper, upon any other than the ground just indicated. Other principles may prevail for a time, and serve a good purpose, but they will pass away with the occasions which gave rise to them. Other causes and contingencies, of greater moment, and more immediate pressure will be continually occurring in the providence of God, and the Church that has no better foundation, will sooner or later lose its vitality, and be known only in the history of the past.

I may yet remark, that it is only upon this original Reformation ground that Protestants can unite. This is the ground upon which, as has been intimated, Protestantism started, and only while occupying it, can it make progress. It is not by ignoring the truth, or by eviscerating it, in the spirit of affected charity, of its proper contents, that different portions of the Church can be brought together in a real union, but by holding it fast and confessing it. Ignorance and unbelief separate and divide; whilst faith binds men together in the bonds of peace and unity and love.

Let us then firmly maintain our proper denominational position. We need not fear the result. The principles which it involves have borne us safely through seasons of sore trial and severe conflict. They will do it again, with the blessing of God.

What is more, we have a work to perform. It is not merely to assist in giving the Gospel and the ordinances of worship to the thousands who are daily flocking to our shores from the fatherland. This itself is a great work. But as a denomination, we ought to do our part to leaven afresh, with the principles of the Reformation, the theology of this wide spread Protestant land. This is still more important—and not sufficiently appreciated by many. We may not need theology, in its more scientific forms, for the conversion and edification of

souls. But we do need it, and we must have it, for the defence, the development and the illustration of truth; and no where, and never, was it more loudly called for, than precisely in our own country at the present time.

In this great work, it would have been our pleasure to join hands with other branches of the Reformed Church, especially with those who held the same form of doctrine, and professed to be interested in its dissemination. It was a mistake, however, to attempt such coöperation, without first assuring ourselves that there was nothing to interfere with the object contemplated—that the parties have an affinity for each other—were harmonious in their principles, and of congenial habits and dispositions. Unfortunately, in a particular instance, this was not the case, and the result must ever be lamented. The formal connexion, hastily and unadvisedly formed, terminated in a wider separation. What was worse, in leaning towards a denomination, which in great measure was unacquainted with the history and genius of our Church, and had no sympathy with the habits and spirit of our people, we estranged ourselves from another, which was “bone of our bone,” and to which we were bound by the strongest and most intimate social and ecclesiastical ties.

In this connexion, it may not be out of place to remark, in reference to a union of Protestant confessions, that, desirable as it is, if it ever does take place in a permanent way, it must begin with the Churches of the Reformation. Let be said upon the subject what may, the Lutheran and Reformed Churches embody in their confessions the principles of Protestantism, and represent in fact the two sides of the great movement of the sixteenth century. They must, accordingly, first be reconciled in their views and be brought to coöperate harmoniously, before anything of the kind may be expected of other denominations. It is not enough to lay aside peculiarities of Church order, and worship and doctrine, and to meet on neutral ground in friendly conference about the interests of Christ's kingdom. There must be some acknowledged truth, appealing with authority and power to the consciences of men, or they will never be brought and bound together as one body

in Christ Jesus. It is worth while to remember, too, that in Germany have originated those world-wide movements in the sphere of religion that have contributed so much to the welfare of our race in modern times; and if another shaking in Israel is to take place, it may possibly again originate there.

The German mind is peculiarly fitted for earnest and profound speculation, whilst that of the Anglo-Saxon is more inclined to practical exertion; and in America, where both elements frequently combine, and where all is full of fresh life and vigor, may be found the proper field for their display.

It is only in this way and upon some such ground as this, that a union of denominations can be effected. At one time, the evangelization of the world by the Bible Society and other kindred associations, had a happy effect in bringing Christians together in harmonious coöperation. The object was most worthy, and the result for a time was highly encouraging. It was pleasant to see the followers of Christ, of every name, and from every part of the world, meeting in fraternal embrace upon the same platform; and it seemed as if Satan was really foiled and his ingenuity at an end, for the means of arresting the progress of the Redeemer's kingdom. But these expedients for promoting coöperation among Christians, did not and could not—as, indeed, they were not intended—enable those who favored them most heartily, to advance to the same ecclesiastical position, and hence were insufficient to bind them together in one brotherhood, forgetful, in love to Christ, and zeal for his cause, of every private and separate interest. The denominational attachment in our day is stronger than ever; and it remains to be seen upon what more advanced and elevated position the Churches may yet unite and work together for the glory of Christ. May the providence of God speedily disclose it to our view.

In the mean time, the several denominations have a part to perform. Of none is this more certainly true, or more freely confessed, than of our own. To perform it, however, we must have a ministry of our own training, acquainted with the history and imbued with the spirit of our Church, as well as versed in its doctrines. This is required, with a view to its efficiency,

its peace and perpetuity. When the ministry of a Church is gathered in from abroad, and made up of men of different views, there will be frequent misunderstandings. If they are men of integrity and have any strength of character, they will be disposed to preach what they hold to be true, and to introduce the customs and practices to which they have been accustomed. They may even unwittingly imagine that everything new to them in the opinions and habits of the people, with which they have become connected, is necessarily wrong, and that they have been providentially called to correct it. Any such attempt, however honestly made, must interfere with the harmony and peace of the Church. It is, therefore, important to have a ministry of our own training, or composed at least of those who sincerely sympathize with us. They should also be interested in the history and the destiny and the proper mission of the Church, otherwise they will labor amongst us at great disadvantage, and with very little comfort. It is not enough that a minister strive for the conversion of souls. This is a primary duty, and one in which he cannot be too zealously engaged. But he should look beyond this, to the glory of Christ, and to the building up, and prosperity of his Church. It is in fact, when the Church prospers, and is active, that, in answer to the prayers of the saints, he may look for the happiest results, as the fruit of his labors in the conversion and sanctification of his people.

To succeed, one must also have a ministry imbued with the spirit of self-denial, and a willingness to endure hardship, and, if need be, persecution. Our people in many places, are in a transition state, in more senses than one, and with large accessions from abroad, must remain so for years to come. A minister laboring amongst them, must expect to make sacrifices of ease and comfort and to meet with trials. This is hard for flesh and blood to submit to, especially when the ministers of other denominations are well provided for. But when there is the spirit of faith and self-consecration, it may be done, and may even be turned to spiritual account. Nor must we suppose that we are beyond the reach of persecution. We sincerely pray that we may be permitted to escape, but judging from the

signs of the times, the hour may come before many are prepared for it.

Such a ministry, a learned, a devoted, self-sacrificing ministry, we should labor to provide. No other will enable us to maintain our position, or perform our duty as a Church. Without such a ministry, we had better give up our denominational existence, and fall in with other confessions, as our respective inclinations may prompt us, or as circumstances may seem to require. As to a union of denominations at this time, it is not to be thought of. The tendencies are of an opposite character. No two can walk together, except they be agreed. The only way, therefore, is for each, in the spirit of forbearance and charity, to maintain its proper ground, advocating its measure of truth, and fulfilling its appropriate duties, until, in the providence of God, the way is prepared, and the means provided, for all to advance to a higher position, where we may see eye to eye, and every heart throb in unison, filled with the love of Christ.

In doing this, we may expect many discouragements. Numerically, we are a small body, and compared with other denominations, have little influence. At this time, too, we are suffering undeserved reproach. We must not, however, despond. We are not forsaken of God. The tokens of his gracious presence, experienced during the past year, are too manifest to be mistaken; and earnest and good men regard us with interest, and would be sorry to see us halting in our course. Let us then, "thank God and take courage," determined to persevere; and though our name be blotted from the record of ecclesiastical organization on earth, and we perish, let us perish contending for the faith of our fathers, and we shall certainly find it written in the book of life in heaven. But no such result can take place, so long as we have a work to perform, and we continue faithfully to perform it, planting our feet upon the rock of ages; for though we wrestle, not only against flesh and blood, but also against principalities and powers in high places, we shall overcome in the end, and our "rest will be glorious."

ART. V.—CHRISTIAN CULTUS.

SECOND ARTICLE.

IN a previous article we spoke of the basis and range of true Christian Cultus, of its functions and their order, of its developments in history, of its character and defects in the age immediately preceding the Reformation, of the relation which the Reformation Cultus sustained to that in the Roman Catholic Church, of the characteristics of the Reformation Cultus, and of the relation which the two sides of the Reformation, the Reformed and the Lutheran, sustained towards each other in this respect. We gave notice also, at the close of our article, that our design contemplated more. We proceed, therefore, now to say, what want of space then admonished us to defer.

Since the Reformation, as is well known, a vast number of secondary reformations have sprung up in the History of the Church, some on one ground and some on another, separating themselves from the older confessions and organizations, and also springing out of, and dividing from each other, forming themselves into independent sects or communions, constructing their own symbols of faith, or having none at all, forming their own system of government, and, of course, developing also a Cultus peculiar to themselves, and differing from one another, as well as from what existed before. It would lead us too far, to follow historically all these divergent tendencies; nor is this necessary to our purpose. It is enough to characterize the general *spirit* in which they rise, and which they illustrate.

The very fact that divergencies and divisions became so easy, natural, and common, is proof that a true conception of the Church, and faith in it as a supernatural and gracious constitution in the world, gradually vanished from the minds and hearts of men. The Reformation was not a protest against the Church, but a reformation of it. The Reformers firmly

believed in the Church as the body of Christ, being in order before its members, over them, and as carrying in its bosom, from the Head, the only hope, and the only resources of salvation for men. Hence their zeal in holding fast to the old power beneath the powerful struggles of the new. Their ministry carried with it the old succession of ordination; their sacraments were adhered to in their true sacramental sense and power; their faith was the CREED, as it reigned from the earliest age; their Cultus owned the objective and sacramental, and had its home in the bosom of the Church; and their government rested, in its ultimate ground, on the authority of the Church.

While they thus, held fast to the churchly, they, at the same time, labored to develop the freedom of the Church. They felt that, although Jerusalem is from above, and "the mother of us all," it is also "free." They believed that the Church, as it then existed, having culminated in absolute power, in the Kingly office, was turning too arbitrary and terrible a side towards the just and necessary demands of individual freedom. They moved in favor of this last interest. Hence, in Cultus, as well as in other interests they made the individual more prominent; and while they most sacredly retained the idea of the objective and sacramental, they nevertheless brought out also in its proper prominence the subjective and sacrificial.

Now, as the Church before the Reformation grew gradually into the extreme of power, the Church after it grew gradually into the extreme of liberty; while the first lost the sacrificial in the sacramental, the latter lost the sacramental in the sacrificial. This tendency towards the latter extreme becomes the longer, the more apparent. The farther down from the Reformation, the less power has the idea of the Church, the easier and more frequent do divisions become, and the more does the individual thrust out the general. On the continent of Europe national and provincial Churches emerge more and more out of unity, and separatists form circles in the bosom of national Churches. In England rise first Puritan Dissenters, then Independents, then Quakers—the final extreme subjective distance from the churchly. Then again, still later, Methodism,

which reaches the extreme subjectivity by a different process, and cultivates it in a different form. Then, in America, in the element of civil freedom, the unchurchly tendencies have exhibited themselves in the most destructive and painful extremes, where we have even new independent productions, either by virtue of direct revelations, or as the products of assumed superior wisdom. Pronouncing all that has been a failure, we have the "New Church," "The Church of God," "The Church of Latter Day Saints," and "Independent Churches" without end, where a belief in "The Holy Catholic Church," is regarded as the mother of heresies.

In the bosom of such tendencies, it is easy to see, that a true churchly Cultus, such as we have in the Reformation period, is not possible. Being unchurchly it must be unsacramental. Having no objective basis to rest upon, it must become the product of individual will, and subjective feeling, and thus exhibit, in time, as it has actually done, all the distraction, weakness, and misery of individual caprice.

The unchurchly character and spirit of the post-Reformation Cultus manifests itself in various ways. We will briefly designate the more prominent.

1. It manifests itself in an undervaluing of the Sacraments.

That there has been degeneracy from higher to lower views of the Sacraments since the Reformation, is manifest to any one who has examined this subject historically with any degree of care. The idea of sacramental grace, both in Baptism and the Holy Supper, which was so central and familiar an idea in the sixteenth century, is now regarded as a dangerous heresy. The transaction is not regarded as something which God does to us, but something which we do to God—not sacramental but sacrificial. The extreme in which these divergencies have fallen, in reality meets the extreme of the Roman Church, making the sacraments virtually a work,—an offering to God, instead of a grace, an offering from God to man.

We may remind ourselves of the truth of this undervaluation of the sacraments, and a still farther divergency in the same direction, since the Reformation, by many considerations. Notice the fact in regard to the Lord's Supper, that it is far

less frequently administered—that the same solemn preparation for receiving it is no more made—that its administration to the dying is ridiculed—that so large a number, even of professing Christians, are not communicants—that some sects, as Separatists, fanatics, and Quakers, regard it as a mere outward form, at war with the Spirit, one of the “beggarly elements” of a carnal dispensation, and have set it entirely aside. Notice, too, how little power and solemnity, to the masses outside of the Church, have the momentous words: “Do this.” “Verily, verily, I say unto you, Except ye eat the flesh of the Son of man, and drink his blood, ye have no life in you!”

In regard to Baptism, let the fact be noticed, that by some sects, as the Quakers, it is not practiced at all. In some of our American fanatical sects, it is left optional with the “converts.” In some sects it is denied to infants; and generally, even when infant baptism is practiced, the solemnity is deferred much later than formerly. It is only necessary to compare the number of infants with that of adults in the baptismal statistics of these denominations where infant baptism is professedly practiced, to be convinced that there is a fearful and growing tendency to defer the administration of this sacrament; all of which is significant, and shows that its true original sacramental importance is not felt as it was formerly. Notice the fact, too, that in the whole shelves of books and pamphlets that have been written on the subject, they are all occupied with the subject, the mode, the outward, while you can scarcely find a single volume in which the *substance* of the sacrament is earnestly treated. All this indicates that the true sacramental substance is lost sight of, and that what has first diverged from the centre, is fast flying off from the periphery.

2. Closely allied to this growing indifference to the sacraments, and growing out of it, is a losing sight of the Priestly and Kingly functions in the Church. Sacred persons are no more regarded as ministers, only as “preachers.” Christ’s priestly office is not regarded, as in any sense, perpetuated in them. There is a tendency to regard them merely as chosen, authorized, and sent by men to men, instead of regarding them as coming from God to men, as being the functionaries of the

supernatural, and as having all their authority, responsibilities, and resources from the Head to the members. It is not regarded as a divinely gracious function, but only as a humanly wise arrangement. As to the kingly office, it is not to be thought for a moment, that any authority whatever is connected with the ministerial office—the solemn announcement of absolution, the binding and loosing, which is so prominent in the Cultus of the Reformation Churches, is regarded as next to blasphemy. Synods and symbols are alike put into the category of tyrannies; and though, by a kind of dead tradition, Church authority is acknowledged, yet there is but a feeble and restless submission to it. In the outer extremes of this tendency we have free independency, where every Church is its own authority, where the heights and depths, the lengths and the breadths of divine mysteries are measured, moulded, or voted out by the wisdom of the majority!

In some sects ministers are not needed—in others they are only needed as “preachers”—in others, again they are superseded in much of their ministrations by a thrusting forth of an unordained laity. There is growing the spirit of dictation, criticism, irreverence, and a general disposition to bandy the holy office upon the democratic level. Here the priestly function is virtually ignored; the minister’s acts are viewed as personal, not official, and the solemn words are not felt: “He that heareth you, heareth me;” and “he that despiseth you, despiseth me!” His acts are transactions and suggestions, but not administrations and communications. In these conceptions no altar is needed, because there is no priest. Thus while the Roman Catholic Cultus sets aside the Prophet, this dispenses with the Priest and the King.

3. Still farther, we have in this unchurchly Cultus a great disrespect for all symbols of faith and forms of worship.

The Reformation Cultus made much use of the Creed, the commandments, the Lord’s prayer; it had its liturgical forms of confession, prayer, intercession, and praise. The worshipper listened to these, and was moved by them, as the voice of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost to them through the Church. These gave a holy order, and a subduing unction to

the worship. There was a priestly solemnity in the services, which inspired true devotion. Symbols of faith gave steadiness, firmness, and regulation to faith, and liturgical forms gave decent, sober, and reverent restraint and direction to devotional feeling. All this was in harmony with the idea that the objective and sacramental must be over the subjective and sacrificial—must call it forth, regulate, and limit it.

The later Cultus, disregarding these restraints, has, in many sects, become exceedingly wayward and wild. Irreverence and disorder often go so far as to take the form of actual revelry and frantic fanaticism, which has no bounds but every one's individual capacity. In such cases prayer is the mere vamping of a fleshly excitement, in no sense the product of a sacramental Cultus. Thus, again, as in the Roman Church, worship becomes in reality a service, a work—that which is done to God from men, not that which God does for man, and in man—leaving out of view the entire one side of true Cultus, namely the sacramental.

4. This unchurchly Cultus becomes also distressingly naked and bare in its outward appendages and accompaniments.

It has zeal for plain unadorned churches—desires no sacred architecture, no solemn furniture—will have no altar, no organ, no distinctive dress for the minister in officiating—it will have no steeple pointing heavenward, no bell of solemn tone to preach over town and country—no superstitious “dim religious light” by means of stained glass; nothing that will give an air or appearance of solemn mystery to the holy place;—the consecration of a church, it prefers to call dedication—it will hear nothing of sacred places; it will rather say “meeting house” than church—it will hear nothing of sacred persons, sacred things, or sacred holidays. All must square with the secular, the natural, the every day feeling. It even seeks to put the grave-yard away from the church. It hates the old, around which associations are so apt to cling, because it fears superstition. It will be original in its faith, in its preaching, its prayers, its hymns, and its music. Nothing is stable long enough to awaken the home-feeling, and to bind the present to the past, the subjective to the objective, the sacrificial to the sacramental.

Such are some of the main features, and such some of the details, which characterize that Cultus which, in the various divisions and sects, has continued to diverge and degenerate since the Reformation—has diverged and degenerated, because it departed from the fundamental principles of a true Christian Cultus; or perhaps, more properly speaking, because it did not acknowledge and include these true elements in its start. This degenerate spirit could easily be traced out into almost any extent of detail; but this is not necessary, as the suggestions of any close observer will be abundantly confirmatory of the truth of the portrait which we have hastily sketched.

This is now the proper place for giving a brief historical exhibition of the true Reformed Cultus in its details, as the principles which lie at its foundation embodied themselves in the various provincial portions of the German Reformed Church. This will also enable us to see how far it embodied those functions and elements, which we have presented as the true substance of Christian Cultus, and which we have seen have evaporated in the various secondary reformations which have sprung up since. The first order of divine service which Zwingli introduced in the Church at Zurich, 1529, was as follows:

1. A general prayer.
2. The Kyrie Eleison.
3. The Gloria.
4. The prayer before the Epistle.
5. The Epistle Lesson.
6. The Graduale.
7. The Gospel Lesson.
8. The Creed.
9. The Sermon.
10. The Präfation.
11. The Lord's Supper.

The first order of service introduced by Calvin in the Church at Geneva, 1541, was more simple than that of Zwingli at Zurich. Farel, before him, had prepared the way. While Zwingli honored, to some extent, the old, and suffered himself to be influenced by Luther's order of service, Calvin brought the

Genevan order of worship rigidly to the test of what he regarded a truly evangelical simplicity. Its parts were as follows :

1. The Commandments.
2. A confession of sin.
3. Singing of a Psalm.
4. An extemporaneous prayer on the pulpit, ending with the Lord's Prayer.
5. Text and sermon.
6. Prayer, ending again with the Lord's prayer.
7. The Creed.
8. The Benediction.
9. A short closing Psalm.

This was substantially, also, the form and order of service in the French Reformed churches.

The German Reformed Church service in the Palatinate included the following parts :

1. Invocation.
2. A form of exhortation to prayer, ending with the Lord's prayer.
3. Singing.
4. A Liturgical prayer, ending with the Lord's prayer.
5. Singing.
6. Text and sermon.
7. Confession of sin—a Liturgical Form.
8. Absolution.
9. A Liturgical prayer, ending with the Lord's prayer.
10. A short Psalm.
11. Benediction.

In Calvin's Church Service, as used in the French churches, only the Psalms and the commandments were read in the altar—the last not by the minister, but by the clerk. In the Hessian Agenda, 1657, it appears that, in the German Reformed churches all the service that preceded the sermon was done in the altar. After the sermon, in this Agenda, comes the Absolution, which is done on the pulpit, as being a part of the announcements of the Gospel. After this, however, the minister descends again, and makes the closing prayer, and pronounces the benediction in the altar.

It will be seen, that amid a general uniformity in the main elements, there is considerable variety in the minor details, in the worship of the different provincial Churches. This is in keeping with the genius of the Reformed Cultus; upon a churchly basis, it allows freedom. It allows of development, to meet the variety of wants which ever arise from peculiarities of nationality, education and social habits. It will be seen also, that, though the Liturgical element enters largely into the service, it is not in so formal a manner as to be a yoke, or stiff harness to the free spirit of devotion, but rather in the way of help and guide. It is to lean on, as well as to be carried by. This is as it should be. Experience, in those Churches which are rigidly bound down to a full routine of forms, and are compelled to adhere to them uniformly, proves that a stiff formalism is the result. The interest of the worshippers cannot be secured by a rigid sameness of form during the whole worship.

It will be farther seen, from these various modes of service, that all the parts and elements of a full, free, churchly, and edifying Cultus have been preserved in the Reformed Church. A Liturgy, that will meet the wants of the Church, must include them all. They need not all be used in every service; but they must all be there, so that existing wants may always be met, and that there may be a free accommodation of the worship to circumstances and occasions. Thus worship, like all life, while bound to its organs and channels, is nevertheless free in all its activities.

Observing the general order of each, and combining all the parts and elements into one, we will have the following full order of worship:

1. Invocation.
2. Commandments.
3. Confession of sin, passing over into the Kyrie Eleison, and ending with the Lord's prayer.
4. Absolution.
5. Singing.
6. Reading the Epistle, or a passage from the Old Testament
7. The Graduale.

8. Reading of Gospel.
9. Creed, passing into the great prayer.
10. Singing a Psalm, Hymn, or Gloria.
11. Sermon.
12. Psalm, or Hymn.
13. Prayer, passing over into the Lord's prayer.
14. Doxology.
15. Benediction.

If there is to be the administration of the Lord's Supper, the service after the sermon ought to take the following order. Before the sermon there should be only the Invocation, Hymn, Prayer, and Gloria.

12. Psalm or Hymn.
13. Confession of sin.
14. Absolution.
15. The communion service.
16. Liturgical prayer, including the consecration, and ending in the Lord's prayer.
- Präfation.*
17. Administration of the Lord's supper.
18. Thanksgiving.
19. Doxology.
20. Benediction.

It will be seen at once that a service that should follow, and use all these parts, would be much too long; but this is to be regarded as an advantage, inasmuch as it leaves room for omitting and using in a free way to suit the occasion, and the circumstances. As all these parts and elements belong properly to the Cultus of the Reformed Church, they ought to be at her service, and there ought to be opportunity and freedom to use them in that unbound accommodation to time, place, and circumstances, which makes a Liturgy truly a help, and not slavery.

As to the order in which these parts ought to succeed each

* A thanksgiving form before the celebration of the Lord's Supper, in imitation of our Saviour, who "gave thanks" before he distributed the elements to his disciples. It is introduced by several beautiful responses between the minister and the choir, or congregation.

other, that must be decided with due reference to precedent, taking into consideration also their inward relation to, and dependence upon, each other. We hope to throw light upon this part of the subject by some comments upon the different parts of the order of worship.

1. The Invocation.

The invocation includes something of the Blessing and something of the Prayer. It invokes God's presence and blessing, and turns also towards the people with a kind of greeting from God through the minister. It was not originally in the order of worship instituted by Zwingli; but it became, in the lapse of time, a part of the Zwinglian form of service, as it was afterwards developed and established. It is found also in the Palatinate service. It is not found in the Calvinistic service. Calvin's form directly confronted the people with the law—abrupt and stern. In the French Reformed Churches the service began in the same way.

The following was the common form of Invocation:

"Grace, peace, and mercy, from God the Father, and his beloved Son Jesus Christ our Lord, and the fellowship of the Holy Ghost, be with us all. Amen."

This, it will be observed, has the form of a blessing, and is only passed over into a prayer by the words, "be with us all," including the minister, whereas a blessing leaves out the minister, and says, "be with you." The reason, why it is turned into a prayer, is, that it is the beginning of the exercises, and the minister as well as the people, needs "grace, peace, and mercy" for the discharge of his solemn duty.

2. The Commandments.

The commandments were used in the French and Dutch Reformed Churches. There is much propriety in the solemn announcements of these humiliating, and heart-searching words from Sinai in the service. They have the double effect of being words of conviction and penitence to sinners, and of reproof, correction, and direction to Christians. They come properly at the beginning of the service, because the first thing we ought to realize, when we enter upon divine service, is a deep sense of our need of divine grace. This comes from a

sense of our sin and misery, which is "out of the Law of God." Saints as well as sinners need a constant tender sense of unworthiness. Thus the commandments in worship—as they do in the Catechism, where they come forward both in the First Part for the conviction of sinners, and in the Third Part for the direction of believers—have their legitimate effect upon both classes. They also prepare the way very naturally for what follows, namely :

3. Confession of sin, passing over into the *Kyrie Elesion*, and ending with the Lord's prayer.

The penitential feeling which the law produces prepares the way for hearty and humble confession. This confession was generally made kneeling, or standing. It was brief; and it generally had brief earnest prayer mingled in with it, or at its conclusion. Hence, we think this confession of sin may properly pass over into the *KYRIE ELESION*. This is a very ancient, brief, humble, solemn form of prayer, founded on several passages of Scripture, such as Ps. 51: 1; 123: 3; Matth. 9: 17; 15: 22. It is in this form :

Lord, have mercy upon us.

Christ, have mercy upon us.

Lord, have mercy upon us.

This prayer was from the very earliest times used in the Greek Church. It has since been, in various ways, beautifully enlarged, both by Protestants and Roman Catholics, and in the Greek Church. In Zwingli's form this prayer follows the first general prayer, which was no doubt of a penitential character. As this part of the service ought to be short, solemn, and hearty, and as this prayer is touchingly penitential, we can think of nothing more suitable to give relief to the heart from humble confession. In the faith and sense of forgiveness, of which we may suppose the heart to be conscious after the *Kyrie Elesion*, the transition is natural into the Lord's prayer, so full of humble joy and filial feeling. Thus are these three *Cultus-forms* brought together, like the three parts of the Catechism, which they resemble, both in the nature of their contents, and the order in which they are arranged.

4. Here very naturally and properly comes in the Absolution.

If the congregation have knelt during the confession and prayer, they will now hear the solemn words of absolution in a standing posture.

The absolution is founded upon the many promises in the Scripture by which penitent and believing hearts have the assurance of pardon and the favor of God. This assurance officially announced to them is calculated to afford them great relief and comfort. It is also implied that the minister, by virtue of his office, has authority to administer these consolations, and that in consequence they carry with them additionalunction and power to awaken faith and beget comfort. The absolution, which announces to the believing that their sins are pardoned, also announces to the impenitent that their sins are retained. This is done to awaken their consciences, and bring them to repentance. The warrant for this double announcement is from those passages which give to the minister power to bind on earth and it shall be bound in heaven, to loose on earth and it shall be loosed in heaven, and which assure all that whosoever sins they remit they are remitted, and whosoever sins they retain they are retained. It will at once be felt that this solemn service grows very naturally out of what is called in the Heidelberg Catechism, the doctrine of the Keys.

In the Palatinate Liturgy, and also in the Hessian Agenda, the Absolution comes after the sermon. Is it not, however, more naturally connected with the confession of sin? Ought it not come in at the commencement of the service, so that the conscience may be relieved of its sense of guilt, and the heart comforted, and thus prepared, with humble joy, to engage in the service which is to follow? Ought it not to come in the bosom of the Altar service, where the sacrifice of broken and contrite hearts is properly brought? True, it may be said, it is an announcement of the gospel, and therefore belongs more properly to the pulpit, following the sermon as a part of it, by way of solemn application, making it glad tidings indeed; yet it is the announcement of the Priest rather than of the Prophet—it is the gracious acceptance of those hearts which in penitence and confession have been laid upon the altar of propitiation,

5. *Singing.* The Psalm or Hymn here sung ought to be purely liturgical and devotional. It need have no reference to the sermon, or to the portion of Scripture to be read after it. It looks back, and not forward. It may be penitential, as answering to the feelings awakened by the commandments and confession of sin. It may contain prevailingly the elements and the spirit of thanks and praise, as completing the feelings of joy and confidence awakened by a joyful sense of pardon, of which the worshipper is assured in the pronouncing of absolution. It may be the expression of faith, and prayer for the continuance of divine mercy and goodness.

It would be very interesting to treat fully the relation of the Zwinglian conceptions of worship to singing—the Reformer's indifference to it—its gradual introduction (for it was never abolished, because it had not been before in practice)—the opposition of the Reformed to Hymns, and their preference for the Psalms—their feeling, prevailingly for sacrificial hymns, over against the Lutherans, who preferred the sacramental. All this would be even in place, but must be suppressed in order to keep this article within proper limits.

We only yet remark, on this point, that singing ought to be regarded as an important part of divine service. It was so in the Old Dispensation. The Saviour consecrated it by singing a hymn with his disciples in the upper room in connection with the solemn institution of the Last Supper. The Apostle exhorts to the singing of Psalms and hymns, and spiritual songs. It is natural for a devout heart to hymn forth its emotions. It is adapted to that concert which is necessary to the order and harmony of worship in the great congregation. It is that part of service in which the congregation can so well engage in the way of penitential confession, and joyful thanksgiving and praise. By far too little attention is paid, at the present time, to this part of Cultus; and grievous defects prevail which call loudly for correction. It is a question now pressing heavily upon the hearts of earnest Christians, whether the number of Hymns and Psalms allowed to be sung is not by far too many—whether this is not still more the case with the tunes? whether the elements of Church music have not been expan-

ded into such endless variety, as to lose in a great measure their power, savor, unction and impressiveness? whether a return to the earlier simplicity, in regard to the number of Psalms and Hymns, as well as tunes, is not absolutely necessary, to a restoration of this part of Cultus to its true place and power. He that can speak on this subject so as to be heard and felt, will deserve the warmest gratitude of the Church.

6th, 7th and 8th. The propriety of hearing God directly through His own Word, read in the service, must be plain to every one. This has been a part of Cultus, in all dispensations, and in all ages of the Church. When we consider that the Holy Ghost dwells in the hearts of saints, to lead them into truth, to show them the things of Christ, it is at once seen what an instrument of illumination and comfort, the word read, may become in the hands of the Spirit. He will make the needed comments in their own minds and hearts. Read thus, it comes not from the prophet, but it has a priestly significance; it becomes an offering to the saints, and begets a spirit of sacrifice in them. For this reason it is properly read in the Altar.

The experience of every true believer, proves that the word of God thus read, is often accompanied with an unction, and an application, which it is not felt to possess when read in private. It shows itself capable of wonderful accommodation to the varied wants and circumstances, and states of the worshippers. Whatever may be the passages read, every one feels their suitableness to his own case.

The Reformed Church, we think, rightly protested against the formal and forced adherence to regularly designated portions of Scripture to which the Lutherans adhered. The word of God must not be bound. We must not encourage such preferences for portions of the word of God, which will exclude others from being read at all in the public service. All Scripture was given from God by inspiration, and it is all profitable for doctrine, for correction, for reproof, and for instruction in righteousness. Why then should portions of it be ever repeated, and other parts of it not be heard at all?

As the Old Testament is related to the New in the way of

prophecy and fulfillment, and as the one ever illustrates the other, it is well to read from each in every service. Such is also, in a great measure, the relation which the Gospels sustain to the Epistles, and these may, therefore, to advantage, be combined in the reading of the Scriptures. This will give the reading of two portions in the same service, which will enlarge the portion read, the propriety of which is at once apparent. There is a tendency toward the neglect of reading the Scripture in divine service. This needs to be corrected, and it will be done, if two portions are regularly read. It may be proper, and convenient, on certain occasions, in order to shorten the service, to omit the reading of one lesson. The selection of the portions to be read being left free, as well as the length of them, and the privilege of omitting one lesson entirely, gives to this part of the service a free pliability which is greatly to the advantage of the service. It must be steadily kept in mind that a Cultus, while it rests upon, and is firmly bound to a churchly basis, and liturgical order, must, nevertheless, remain free. Any arrangement in the service which combines these two things, ought always to receive great consideration.

To avoid that abruptness of transition from the reading of one lesson to the other, which always grates on a devotional frame, the *GRADUALE* is introduced as a natural, easy, and devotional transition. This, it has been seen, is introduced in Zwingli's form of Church service. The Graduale—which is so called from the circumstance that the reader of the Gospel lesson, during the time it was sung, ascended some steps to the place from which he was to read—is a composition founded upon a Psalm. It may be a Chant or Anthem, that will give suitable expression to the devotional feelings of the congregation, and be a solemn preparation for the reading of the second lesson. Several suitable compositions may be designated for this part of the service, so as to avoid too much sameness. The one to be sung may be announced by the minister, by repeating the first few words; and the congregation, familiarized with it, will fall in as naturally, devoutly, and solemnly, as they do in the *Doxology*, which precedes the *Benediction*.

9. After reading of the Scriptures, which are the norm and fountain of faith, comes very properly the CREED, which is its summary expression. The Creed passes properly over into the Prayer. This is the principal, or "great Prayer," and ought to be made kneeling. In the Zwinglian service, prayer was offered kneeling; and this posture was only changed at a later period.

This prayer, as it is originally based upon the passage of Paul, 1 Timothy 2 : 1, 2, ought to include all the elements and objects of prayer there mentioned—supplication, prayer, intercession, and giving of thanks, for all men, for rulers, and for all in authority; for the peace of the world, for the welfare of the Church, for the congregation, its officers, members, children; for the poor, the suffering, for widows, orphans, prisoners, captives, strangers; for penitents, for those that mourn, for the forsaken; for such as are in temptations, perils, dangers; for sinners, for such as are bound in error, for enemies; in short, for all ranks and conditions of men. In the way of intercession, this prayer must place the Church between God and a world lying in sin and death. In the way of supplication, it must implore God's merciful protection and supporting grace. In the way of thanksgiving, it must recount and gratefully acknowledge the manifold mercies and blessings of a kind heavenly Father, of an atoning Saviour, and of a sanctifying Spirit.

How appropriately does such a prayer grow out of a solemn profession of our faith in the Creed; and how fit is it that the congregation appearing with such a burden of earnest petitions, should cast itself humbly upon its knees before the throne of the heavenly grace.

10. This is properly followed by a Psalm, Hymn, or the *gloria*. This concludes the Altar service, before the sermon; and forms an appropriate transition to the services of the pulpit.

As the entire service is to constitute one complete whole, the altar service ought to unite with that of the pulpit, even as the prophetic and priestly were joined in Christ. The singing, therefore, which is here introduced, looks forward as well as back; it may have reference, in its sentiment, to the sub-

ject matter of the sermon; or at least may be of such a character as to prepare the minds and hearts of the congregation for the sermon. If it is desirable to shorten the service, the short gloria, or a short anthem may appropriately take the place of a psalm or hymn. Thus: "Glory be to the Father, and to the Son, and to the Holy Ghost, as it was in the beginning, is now, and ever shall be, world without end. Amen." This form of praise, founded upon the numerous Doxologies of the New Testament, is an appropriate expression of hearts blest in the preceding services. As praise and doxology, it appropriately concludes the altar service. Or as expression of hope and joy, it looks naturally and properly forward to the living word of joy and glory which is about to be heard. If time allow, the gloria may come in at the close of the psalm or hymn.

11. This is the place for the sermon. Here there is a very marked change in the character of the Cultus. What has preceded has been purely worship; here now comes a part which, though it is adapted to awaken devotional feelings of a varied kind, yet, as a whole, it is not so much worship, as a being taught how to worship. The pulpit points to the altar, like John the Baptist to Christ.

The Pulpit is properly behind the Altar, and the services in the Altar come properly before those of the Pulpit, because the reception of the word needs preparation. Faith comes before knowledge. The carnal mind cannot perceive the things of the Spirit. Though Christ taught before He sacrificed, yet his disciples did not fully understand his teachings until after his death; following the Prophet until they had fellowship with him as a Priest, all His teachings became clear in the light of His Priesthood. The first is a prayer: "Open thou our eyes"—then comes the effect: "That we may see wonderful things out of thy holy law." According to our Saviour's parable, the ground needs preparation for the seed of the word; and it must be plain that the heart is better prepared for the exercises connected with the prophetic office after it has passed through the solemnities of the Altar service. Not aside of the Altar, or away from it, separate and alone, is the place for the Pulpit, but behind it and forming one whole with it.

The little use which is made in the Roman Church of preaching, and its almost entire abolition in the Greek Church, as well as its subjection to the uncertainty of mere subjective suggestions, as with the Quaker, cannot be justified. The prophetic is an office, and must have its regular orderly and permanent place in the Cultus of the Church. The Old Testament practice, the example of our Saviour and of his Apostles, as well as the practice of the early Church, are strong precedents in favor of the great importance of preaching. Protestantism has fully restored the prophetic office to its proper place and prominence.

The sermon ought to be of such length as not to infringe upon the time needed for the Altar services, the devotional part. In the ancient Church, we are told, the sermons were very short, the homilies of Origen were, when longest, not more than a half an hour. "Few of the sermons of Augustine," says Dr. Alt, "can have been more than half an hour, the most of them scarcely a quarter, and many of them only ten minutes. So also the sermons of Leo the Great, Cæsarius of Arelata, and Gregory the Great." Luther was also a great enemy to long sermons, and often reproved Dr. Pomeranus for his long preaching; and when he sums up the characteristics of a good preacher, he says, "Sixthly, he must know when to stop." The Old Dissenters were noted for their sins against brevity. It is doubtful whether anything beyond three quarters of an hour effects much good. True it is, that where the sermon exceeds that time, the other parts of the service must be curtailed, or the service must be protracted beyond the patience of some, and even the earnest devotion of others. The longest discourse in the New Testament is the sermon on the Mount, and that would not exceed thirty minutes, spoken in the most deliberate manner. The congregation ought to be left, at the close of the sermon, in such an easy state of feeling, as to time, that they may be fitted to engage in the services which follow, with proper patience, attention and devotion.

12. After the sermon comes a Psalm or Hymn. This ought to have some adaptation to the subject matter of the sermon, so as to give natural and fit expression to the feelings awakened by the truth brought before the congregation.

13. A short prayer, passing over and ending in the Lord's prayer. In the Hessian Agenda this prayer was made in the Altar. This is, of course, the proper place for all prayer, if we keep up at all the idea of the Altar. There the minister stands, not away from the people, but on the same level with them, and among them; and thus he becomes the mouth and organ of their worship.

14. The Doxology. Here is an opportunity for the whole congregation to join in a brief and hearty expression of glory to God. There is in it gratitude and praise. It is a reverent and solemn turning toward the triune God before withdrawing, for the time, from His immediate presence, and at the close of His most solemn worship.

15. The service closes with the Benediction. This is either the Old Testament blessing, or one of those in the New, by which some of the Epistles are closed. This is a very solemn part of the service—we may say the crowning part. After God's presence and blessing has been bestowed and enjoyed while the congregation has been assembled, a gracious God now sends His blessing with them as they depart, to remain upon them when away. They are thus to bear the blessing with them into all the relations of secular life. They having been blest in the services, this is a public, official announcement of the blessed fact, for the increase of their confidence, consolation, and joy.

The blessing differs from a prayer, in that the minister does not include himself in it. He does not say, "be with *us*," but "be with *you*." There is in it a recognition of the fact, that, by virtue of his office, he has authority from God to bless. It rests upon the assurance that those who receive the blessing, in faith receive it, and with them it remains.

It ought, therefore, to be received devoutly and believingly. Nothing can be more grating to the feelings of one who has any proper conception of the solemn nature of this part of the service, than to witness the listlessness and irreverence with which some persons receive it. Do we say receive it?—we say wrong, they do not receive it, but arrange their dress, put on their cloaks, reach for hat, cane, or umbrella, and move to

depart, while God is lifting his hands over them to impart to them His gracious blessing! Such persons have not the least conception of the meaning of this service.

In regard to the administration of the Lord's Supper, we have indicated the course which the service ought to take after the Sermon; as also how, when this solemnity is in anticipation, the altar service preceding the sermon, may be abridged. We cannot, at this time, enter upon that part of the Christian Cultus.

Having now, briefly and hastily it is true, gone over the ground proposed, namely, the nature, history and relations of Christian Cultus, with its reference to the present Liturgical wants of the German Reformed Church, we here bring the subject to a close. We hope the general subject will continue to receive the earnest attention of our Ministers and Laity; so that, together with the formation of the new Liturgy, there may grow also a deeper and clearer conception of all that is involved in a true Christian Cultus.

Lancaster, Pa.

H. H.

ART. VI.—THE GERMAN EVANGELICAL CHURCH OF THE UNITED STATES IN ITS RELATION TO THE MOTHER CHURCH IN GERMANY.

Report of Professor Dr. Schaff of Mercersburg, Pennsylvania, read before the German Church Diet at Frankfort on the Maine, on the 27th of September, 1854.

[TRANSLATED FROM THE GERMAN.]

HONORED AND BELOVED FATHERS AND BRETHREN :

BY way of introduction, I present to you, as the representatives of the German Evangelical Church of Europe, the good wishes and fraternal salutation of the German Evangelical Church of America, which, although separated from you by land and sea, is yet, and will continue to be, flesh of your flesh and bone of your bone; and, as the two hemispheres are now

brought nearer and nearer to each other through the power of steam, so she desires to become more and more closely united to you through the deeper power of faith and love.

Thousands of evangelical Christians in the New World, who still revere and love the Fatherland as their natural and spiritual birth-place, and take the most heartfelt interest in the struggles and victories of the mother-Church, hailed also with delight the rise of the *German Church Diet* in the year of 1848, as a bow of peace and promise, after the storms of the Revolution, and as the dawning light of a new day to German Christendom. They saw in it, the fruit of the free pastoral conferences, a beginning toward the concentration and consolidation of the noblest powers of the German Churches of the Reformation, a mighty engine for moral improvement, a living embodiment of "Inner Missions," a noble evangelist for the suggestion and furtherance of every good work. With the liveliest sympathy they followed its annual meetings from Wittenburg to Stuttgart, Elberfeld, Bremen and Berlin, were edified by the beautiful evidences of faith in the most sterling representatives of the Evangelical theology and worship from all parts of Germany, admired the remarkable unanimity and lofty enthusiasm, with which, in the year 1853, it replanted the standard of the venerable Augustana against infidelity and superstition in the city of Frederick, II, and Nicolai, and hoped for the most complete success in its great work of a thorough inward regeneration of German Protestantism. And even at this hour, when you are holding your seventh session in the old imperial city, so renowned in the history of the nation, innumerable prayers on your behalf are ascending on the other side of the Atlantic Ocean, that the humiliating scenes of the Frankfort Parliament may not be repeated in the Frankfort Church Diet, but that a stream of blessing may issue thence, flow over all Germany, and even reach the far-off shores of the Mississippi, and that a deep foundation may be laid for spiritual *unity* and moral *freedom*, till the Lord himself, beyond our prayers and comprehension, shall crown our defective endeavors after union and confederation with the perfect exhibition of *one* flock, gathered out of all lands, nations and confessions under Him, the *one* Shepherd.

The Church Diet on its part, has not forgotten its kindred in foreign countries, and its large heart and true tact appear in this, that at Bremen it admitted into the compass of its transactions *the German emigration*, and at Berlin *the dispersions of Germans in Europe*, as an important department of Inner Missions. Hence, it was very natural to take into view the much greater *dispersions of Germans in America and the entire relation of the German Evangelical mother-Church to her American daughter*.

This is the theme, which the central committee of the "Congress of Inner Missions," handed over to me for an introductory report. Permit me, therefore, to direct your attention to the following three points:

1. The significance of America in general for the development of the kingdom of God.
2. The position and mission of the German Evangelical Church in America.
3. The duty of the mother-Church in Europe to her American-German daughter.

In carrying out this object, I will take up the German Church of America as a whole, and in the very order, which the reformatory confessional basis of the Church Diet marks out; and I can do this the rather, because I was ordained in the Evangelical Church of Prussia, and in January, 1848, the year in which the Diet took its rise, established a periodical as a "central organ for the common interests of the Lutheran, Reformed and United Confessions, and the Moravian brotherhood," the very same communions represented in this assembly.

1. The significance of America for the future development of the kingdom of God.

The United States of North America—whose citizens are called *Americans* in an emphatic sense, because they are the bearers of the historical life and progress of the whole Western Hemisphere—are a wonder in the annals of the human race. Their development, in its rapidity and gigantic proportions, far outstrips all former experience, and their significance for the future mocks the boldest calculation. Though not an hundred years old, they have already become, by a natural force

of expansion, one of the mightiest empires of the civilized world, with the control of one entire continent and two oceans, and spread, in the most peaceful manner, the meshes of their influence over Europe, Asia and Africa. And yet, their history up to this time is only a faint prelude of what is to come, and the Americans of the twentieth century will look upon the present age of this country, with feelings akin to those with which modern Europeans regard the exodus of the nations on the threshold of the Middle Ages. The "Young Giant" has not yet, so to speak, sown all his wild oats, and along with many heroic deeds, commits also some wanton and extravagant pranks, which prove, however, the vigor of his youthful powers. Providence, who creates nothing in vain, has there made physical preparations on the grandest scale, and formed an immeasurable territory, containing the most fruitful soil, the most valuable mineral treasures and the most favorable means of commercial intercourse, as an inviting asylum for all European nations, churches and sects, who, there freed from the fetters of antiquated institutions, amid circumstances and conditions altogether new, and with renovated energies, swarm, and jostle each other, and yet, in an incredibly short space of time, are moulded by the process into one powerful nationality. Whilst Europe had first to work her way up out of heathen-barbarism, America, without earning it, has appropriated the civilization and Church history of two thousand years, as an inheritance, and already put it out at the highest rate of interest for the benefit of after generations. For, these Americans have not the least desire to rest on the laurels of the past and comfortably enjoy the present; they are full of ambition and national pride, and firmly resolved to soar above the Old World. They are a people of the boldest enterprise and untiring progress—Restlessness and Agitation personified. Even when seated, they push themselves to and fro on their rocking chairs; they live in a state of perpetual excitement in their business, their politics and their religion, and remind one of the storm-lashed sea, which here

"Seethes and bubbles and it hisses and roars,

As when fire with water is commixed and contending"

and " — it never will rest, nor from travail be free,
Like a sea that is laboring the birth of a sea."

They are excellently characterized by the expressions: "Help yourself" and "Go ahead," which are never out of their mouths. It is also a very significant fact, that they have invented the magnetic telegraph, or at least perfected it, and are far advanced in the useful arts. For there the car of the world's history moves swifter and swifter on the pinions of steam and electricity, and "the days become too short."

The grandest destiny is evidently reserved for such a people. We can and must, it is true, find fault with many things in them and their institutions—slavery, the lust of conquest, the worship of Mammon, the rage for speculation, political and religious fanaticism and party-spirit, boundless temerity, boasting, quackery, and—to use the American word for it—humbug, as well as other weaknesses and dangers, that are moreover wanting to no country in Europe. But we must not overlook the healthy, vital energies, that continually re-act against these diseases: the moral, yea Puritanical earnestness of the American character, its patriotism and noble love of liberty in connection with deep-rooted reverence for the law of God and authority, its clear, practical understanding, its talent for organization, its inclination for improvement in every sphere, its fresh enthusiasm for great plans and schemes of moral reform and its willingness to make sacrifices for the promotion of God's kingdom and every good work. The acquisition of riches is to them only a help toward higher spiritual and moral ends, the gain derived from the inexhaustible physical resources of their glorious country only the material ground-work toward the furtherance of civilization. They wrestle with the most colossal projects. The deepest meaning and aim of their political institutions are to actualize the idea of *universal* sovereignty, the education of every individual for intellectual and moral self-government and thus for true freedom. They wish to make culture, which in Europe is everywhere aristocratic and confined to a comparatively small portion of society, the common property of the people and train up every youth as a gentleman and every girl as a lady; and in the six States of

New England at least, they have attained this object in a higher degree than any country in the old world, not even England and Scotland excepted.

In short, if anywhere in the wide world a new page of universal history has been unfolded and a new fountain opened, fraught with incalculable curses or blessings for future generations, it is in the republic of the United States with her star-spangled banner. Either humanity has no earthly future and everything is tending to destruction, or this future lies—I say not exclusively, but mainly—in America, according to the victorious march of history, with the sun from east to west.

But America has likewise equally as great a prospective significance and mission for the internal and external development of *the kingdom of God*. The history of the world is indeed only the vestibule to the history of the Church, the voice of one crying in the wilderness, preparing the way for Him, who should come. All political events and revolutions, all discoveries and inventions, all advances in art and science; in fine, all that belongs to the kingdom of the Father and is under the guidance of his general providence, must serve the Son and spread abroad his name, until the whole world is filled with his glory, and all nations walk in the light of eternal truth and love. For the Father draws all men to the Son, and “they shall honor the Son, even as they honor the Father.”

American Church-history is still in the storm-and-pressure-period. Its roots, with all their living fibres, are in Europe, especially in England. It draws its life from the past, most of all from the conquests of the Reformation of the XVI century, and the principles then established, exert there an enormous power, and find the freest scope of action and influence upon the entire national life. Meanwhile, it is all merely the labor of preparation, the heaping up of materials and plans, the chaotic fermentation that precedes the organizing creative activity. But the prolegomena are laid out on the most comprehensive scale; the cosmos lies in the chaos, as a man in embryo, and He, who in the beginning said: “Let there be light!” lives and rules with his Divine Spirit, brooding over the ecclesiastical *Thohuvavohu* (“without form and void”) of the new world.

The history of the kingdom of God in America has already entered upon the dawn of a new era, and will unfold itself, under circumstances and conditions altogether peculiar, not indeed beyond Christ—for He is the Alpha and Omega of Church-history, and before Him the Americans bow with the deepest reverence as before the highest and holiest name in the universe—but beyond all that has hitherto existed in the ecclesiasticism of Europe. I can only touch briefly upon these new circumstances and conditions, which aid the *internal progress* of the Church. To these belong the Protestant, or rather Puritan starting-point of North American Christianity, its complete deliverance from Mediæval Catholic and feudal institutions, its independence of the State, the universal religious freedom and liberty of conscience, and the meeting of all European Confessions and sects on the basis of the voluntary system and political equality. In America the most interesting experiments in Church-history are now made. There the idea is, to found a Church, which, without any direct support from the government, and having for this reason a stronger hold on the sympathies of the people, shall be the expression of their untrammelled convictions, the bearer and guardian of their highest spiritual and moral interests. There the idea is, to actualize the genuine Protestant principle of a congregation, independent and yet bound to an organic whole, in a far greater degree than has heretofore been the case in the Old World; and to make each Christian a priest and a king in the service of the High Priest and King of Kings. There the idea is, to settle the conflict between the greatest diversity and essential unity, between freedom and authority in religion. There the whole controversy between Romanism and Protestantism has been taken up anew, and is rapidly drawing towards a most earnest, perhaps even a bloody issue. For North America is a land thoroughly Protestant, almost to an extreme; n Protestantism embraces not merely the large majority of the population, but is the source, at the same time, of all its social and political principles; in fine, is interwoven most intimately with the entire national life, and goes hand in hand with all the nobler struggles after freedom and ideas of progress. The

public opinion, formed under the influence of Puritanism; regards Romanism, whether justly or unjustly, as the veritable Anti-christ, Intolerance and Persecution personified, a system of the most terrible spiritual despotism, which, if successfully established, would also annihilate all political freedom and arrest the progress of history. Hence the more this Church grows—although its growth does not keep pace with the emigration from Ireland, Germany and France, so that in fact much more material is lost than gained by the transition to America—the more do national jealousy and hatred, which have already found vent in manifold riotous proceedings, increase also. Here it will be seen, whether the Papacy, under conditions and circumstances like these, can maintain herself unaltered, or whether she will rush to ruin, or undergo a fundamental change.

In North America, moreover, the fate of the Reformation is to be decided. There, Protestantism, along with its enormous vital energies, its devotion to liberty, its ability to make sacrifices and its bold and enterprising spirit, exhibits also its faults and weaknesses much more plainly than in Europe, where its free development is still checked by the fetters of ecclesiastical and civil forms and regulations, the growth of ages. There it will be seen, whether it, as its enemies prophecy, being left to its centrifugal and unchurchly tendencies, will at last break up into nothing but atoms, and prepare a greater triumph for Catholicism than the victory over the Old Roman and Germanic heathenism; or whether, as we believe and hope, following its positive, Christian principles, with the Word of God in hand and heart, it will come together, consolidate, concentrate itself and out of the Phoenix-ashes of all Christian denominations and sects, rise glorified as the truly universal, Evangelical Catholic Bride of the Lord, adorned with the fairest flowers of the Church-history of all centuries.

Such a mighty mission appears to lie before the Church-history of the country, of which we speak; not indeed as isolated from the rest of the world, but in connection with the other Christian nations, who are brought nearer every year, the barriers of space and time being broken down. To such a mission

even the rude beginnings of their labor point, and thus much, according to human view, is at all events certain, that, North America, along with England and Germany, furnishes the most important contributions toward solving the vast problems touching Christ and his Church, which now press upon Christendom with gigantic weight; and will yet decide them to the honor of the God-man and Saviour of the world, and His Bride.

Not only upon the internal development of the Church, but also upon the *external spread* of the Gospel, in all heathen lands, America, from its geographical position and by its rapidly increasing commerce, must exert an incalculable influence. The Sandwich Islands, that halfway station upon the route over the Pacific Ocean, have, by Puritan missionaries of New England, been already won over to the Gospel, and will soon become an integral part of the great Anglo-Saxon Republic. The ports of Japan have been lately opened to American trade, and the various Missionary, Bible and Tract Societies, with their fresh, energetic powers, will certainly follow up this advantage at the earliest favorable opportunity. The railroad and canal, soon to be made over the Isthmus of Panama, indicate, that the whole commerce between Europe and Further Asia, as well as the Missionary operations, for which it has thus providentially furnished a path, will, in a short time, take up their march through America, as the real centre of the world. Already a line of steam ships has been established between San Francisco and Canton, and through this channel, christianizing and civilizing influences beyond number, will stream toward China; and already these Divine preparations, are met, without their knowledge or wish, by the inhabitants of the "Celestial Empire" crowding by thousands into California, who, lured thither by gold and the high wages of labor, will yet find there and carry back to their native land, where just now events occur that fill the whole world with astonishment, something infinitely better than all the treasures of Sacramento, the precious pearl of the Gospel. For the Colossus of three hundred and sixty millions, after a long stagnation amid dim forebodings of what should come, has at last set itself in motion, and rolls, like a tremendous avalanche of nations, to-

ward a speedy political revolution, which, in the end, must certainly pave the way for a much more important one, in the sphere of the Spirit.

Similar stars of hope for the approaching triumph of the peaceful kingdom of Christ have arisen above the African horizon. In the negro colony of Liberia, founded by American philanthropists, we not only see the first step toward the solution of the fearful riddle of negro-slavery, but the dawn also of a new day for the dark night of Africa, which will be yet conquered for the Gospel and civilization by her own sons and daughters, exported as rude heathen and now returning as Christian men and women.

But finally, North America will also take part in Inner Missions among the nominal Christians of the Old World, in order to restore the candlestick of the pure Word of God, where it has been obscured, or thrust aside, by various human ordinances and inventions. If Mexico, with its boundless sources of wealth, is ever to be delivered from the fetters of Romish ignorance and superstition, and raised out of the whirlpool of an eternal revolution to a state of rational freedom and order; if "the pearl of the Antilles" is yet to be transformed into a pearl in the diadem of the Evangelical Church and become an intellectual and spiritual paradise,—then it is evident, that this must be accomplished chiefly by the nationality and Protestantism of the United States. It is known, moreover, that the Americans have already established flourishing missions among the schismatical sects of the Greek Church; especially among the Armenians in European and Asiatic Turkey, and that they afford aid to the modern movements of the Waldenses in Piedmont, and to the Evangelical Societies of Geneva and Paris in the work of evangelizing France and Italy. Through their political and religious institutions and their new-born literature—I need only remind you of the fact, that the book, which has been most read, during the last few years, is a political novel, written by a New England lady, the daughter of a preacher and the wife of a professor—the United States exert already a very considerable influence, partly destructive, but partly regenerative also, on public opinion in England, Germany and

France; an influence, which must increase every year either as a curse or a blessing to old mother Europe.

I do not say all this in vain-glorious laudation of America, still less of the Americans, who, as men and Christians, are not one whit better than their European forefathers. Their vast mission and significance in the future history of the Church and the world can just as little be ascribed to any special merit of theirs, as the choice of the people of Israel, who, in spite of their stubbornness and ingratitude, were called to be the bearers of the Law and the Prophets, and the stock from whence the Saviour of the world should spring. There is the hidden purpose of God, alike in both cases, and each time bound to a corresponding measure of enormous responsibility.

And just as little do I wish to depreciate Europe and the Europeans by the above remarks. For America is indeed the daughter of Europe and operates with European forces, of which a fuller stream flows thither every year. And the signs of the times appear to indicate, that, as the powers of darkness deepen and concentrate, so likewise all the positive elements of Christendom, in all parts of the world, should come nearer, and become more closely joined together, so that they may achieve a more certain victory in the last decisive conflict. America and Europe ought to understand more clearly, prize more highly, and seek to know and love each other in the common service of the One Lord, to whom all the parts of the globe belong and must at last submit in free, blessed obedience.

2. The position and mission of the German Evangelical Church in America.

Into this American chaos of nations, creeds and sects, big with the destinies of the future, the German element was cast, more than a hundred years ago, like leaven into a process of formation, out of which will grow a universal church-cosmos. Next to the English, which is plainly the original stock of the North American nation, it is the strongest in numbers and much more important than the Spanish, Dutch, French, or even Irish element. The number of Germans in the United States, including their English descendants, is computed at four millions, constituting thus almost the sixth part of the collective

population. And in this we find nearly all the races and religious denominations of our tongue represented: the Lutheran, Reformed and United Confessions, the Moravian fraternity, the older sects of German Protestantism, along with several new ones, which have sprung up there, mostly of a Methodistical order; and, at the same time also, the very worst forces of irreligion and infidelity, which, as far as their influence extends, cover the German name in the New World with shame and disgrace, and, next to the Roman Catholic Irish, give the most nourishment to that bitter hatred of foreigners, which characterizes a strong American party, the Native Americans, or as they now call themselves, the Know-Nothings.

This German-American population will become stronger every year, by an *emigration*, which has almost swollen to a national exodus. I will refer to but one fact, that in the year 1852, in the single port of New York, one hundred and eighteen thousand six hundred and seventy-four Germans landed; the next year, one hundred and nineteen thousand four hundred and forty-eight, and that this year the number will probably be doubled; for the German Society of that city mentions the arrival of thirty-two thousand five hundred and ninety-nine for the month of May alone. Like a contagious fever, the rage for emigration spreads through all parts of Germany and all the Cantons of Switzerland. Agencies for emigrants are to be met with in every city, works, in every book-store, and advertisements, in every newspaper; and the name of America has now become as familiar to every German peasant and laborer, yea to every child in the street, as that of the nearest neighboring country, whilst to thousands and hundreds of thousands, it is the goal of their warmest wishes and boldest hopes. In all probability, this movement from the East to the West will rather increase than slacken for many years to come, as long indeed as its causes and incentives continue, which are the diminishing prospect of obtaining a livelihood or wealth in Germany with its super-abundant population, and, on the other hand, the brightening promise of material prosperity in America, together with the fact that the passage thither and settlement there, are becoming easier from year to year. No power on earth is able

to check this movement, because a law of historical development and the will of Providence are thereby fulfilled.

This emigration has two sides. For Germany, under present circumstances, it is an absolute necessity, and in general a blessing, a relief from an excess of population with whose growth the products of the earth and the means of living cannot keep pace; a beneficial letting of blood and a drain for poverty as well as political and religious disaffection. At the same time, it opens new markets for German industry, so that the loss from money carried out of the country is amply repaired by the amounts, which are ultimately returned. But for America, this phenomenon has the same significance, as the emigration of the Celtic, Germanic and Slavonic races from Asia to Europe, the Greeks into the West, and the dispersion of the Jews into all parts of the world. Emigrants, in general, are the pioneers of profane and ecclesiastical history, the acions of civilization, grafted upon a wild stock in its luxuriant vigor.

Since then Providence has imparted to the German people so great an impulse toward emigration and directed it principally to the United States, he must have designed for them a mission in the New World answering to their cosmopolitan character. That the Germans, by their industry, perseverance and skill, can aid and have aided very largely in rendering the inexhaustible natural resources of that country available, and furthering its material prosperity, is clearly visible. But this must serve only as means for the solution of a *spiritual and moral religious problem*, which is incomparably higher and more important.

This higher problem consists in preserving, applying, independently unfolding and elaborating the peculiar gifts of the German mind and spirit as well as German theology and piety, partly for their own wants and partly for the advancement and modification of the entire process of development in Anglo-American Christianity and its Churches. The design is, to transplant the treasures of German literature, the results of thorough investigation in the departments of exegesis, Church-history, dogmatics and ethics, which the most distinguished Eng-

lish scholars are learning to prize more and more, into the fruitful soil of the Western Hemisphere ; the design is, to impart to the Anglo Saxon race and thereby complete it, a spirit of depth and inwardness, a tendency toward the ideal and eternal, a disposition to dig and burrow into principles, an enthusiastic love for truth and knowledge for their own sake, a will to rank the spiritual far above the material interests ; in short, that which makes up the peculiar *Charisma* (gifts of grace) of the German nation and Church in their noblest representatives ; finally, the design is, to deliver the German mind itself from its own one-sidedness, to enlarge and enrich it by a living appropriation of the great excellencies of the English character and to fit it for new achievements in the sphere of science and of life.

The German nationality, in its pure form, bears a similar relation to the English, as the Old Greek to the Old Roman. The former is predominantly idealistic and speculative, the latter realistic and practical ; the former has the deepest mind, the latter the strongest character ; the former rules the world in that it fathoms and comprehends it in thought, the latter, in that it subjects it to its own will and makes it serve its own ends ; the former labors in the quarry and brings the rough material to light, the latter builds it up into a stately dwelling-house. Whilst the Germans, perhaps more than any nation ever did, prepare thoughts and ideas, which are the real life-blood of profane and ecclesiastical history—look only at the Reformation of the sixteenth century, substantially the work of the German mind !—the English and Americans immediately convert thoughts into resolutions, and resolutions into deeds. With the one, everything runs into theory, and indeed so radically, that they are oftentimes in danger thereby of losing all they aim at : with the other, everything runs into practice, and it is quite possible, that many of the profoundest German ideas will yet attain in practical America a much greater importance than in the land of their birth, and first become flesh and blood on the other side of the ocean, like certain plants, which need transplanting to a foreign soil, in order to bear flowers and fruit.

If America, as many suppose, is to become the theatre of the last decisive conflict between faith and infidelity, between Christ and Antichrist; of the greatest collision between the various Christian nations and confessions and also of their final reconciliation; then surely the earnest and deep thinking of the German mind, especially through the medium of the English language, which is there generally understood, has no insignificant part therein to play.

At all events, if German science, the German Church and German piety, have yet a future anywhere in the world beyond Germany, that future lies in America, a new, vast, yea, immeasurable field of action; but it does not consist—for I must protest against a shallow over-rating of our language and nationality—in self-sufficient exclusiveness, or in hostile opposition to, but in friendly intercourse and union with the sterling and earnest English nationality, so nearly allied to ours; for surely God has brought together these two nations, branches of the same original Teutonic stock, upon American soil, not for hatred, but mutual completion and gradual intermingling, so that as *one* people, they should promote the kingdom of God and Christian civilization. And since America is spreading her net further and further over the globe and exerts upon public opinion, especially in Great Britain and Germany, a growing influence, the American-German Church, as soon as it lives to see its blooming-period, as we hope it will, and produces an Anglo-German literature of its own, can adapt the treasures of the German mind to the wants and tastes of the entire English nation, since indeed all important Anglo-American works are re-printed in England. Thus, to cite only one example, the fifth edition of Torrey's translation of Neander's Church History has already appeared in Boston and a double re-print of it in Edinburgh and London, whilst the German original has only reached the second. On the other hand, such an Anglo-German literature would bring the peculiar excellencies of the English and American mind nearer to Germany, and thereby arouse even her to renewed activity.

O amiable enthusiast! So perhaps many will inwardly exclaim at this statement of the mission of the German nation

and Church for America and the whole Anglo-Saxon world. But I know as well as any one, that the *present condition* of the Germans in the United States is still very far removed from this aim; yea, partly in flat contradiction to it. I know it, and would here utter in sharp tones, that in general it is not at all calculated to give the least nourishment to the pride of culture of our old German Adam, but much rather, to cover it with deep shame and humility. The great mass of the German emigrants have from the beginning belonged to the lower and uneducated classes, and, therefore, they are still far behind the Anglo-American population. But the so-called educated emigrants, many of whom were floated over by the unsuccessful revolutions of the years 1848 and 1849, are, alas! for the most part, not only estranged, in a painful degree, from all Christianity and the Church, but even from all higher morality, and deserve rather to be called the pioneers of heathenism and a new barbarism than of civilization. Such persons naturally bring only reproach and shame upon the German race in the congress of nations of the New World, and expose it to indignation and horror, or to the pity and contempt of all sober and respectable Americans.

Excuse me from the unpleasant task of giving a minute description of this godless German-American pest, as it shows itself daily in the rudest and most insolent fashion, especially in so many scurrilous political newspapers and tipping-houses in all the larger cities of the Union. Only allow me never to forget, that the guilt of it rests on Germany herself, who sends over, or permits to go, to America, as though it were merely a general house-of-correction for all European scamps and vagabonds, thousands, yea, hundreds of thousands, and among them a large portion of its very worst and most incorrigible population, without caring for their spiritual and moral wants, although they are flesh of her flesh and bone of her bone. In the dark aspect of German-American affairs are seen the fearful consequences of German rationalism and infidelity, of political and religious error, and of that modern education, or rather mis-education, which makes fallen man, instead of the living God, the centre and end of all things; which exchanges

the Bible-doctrine that man was created in the image of God, for the blasphemous notion that God is no more than the likeness of man, and, from the dizzy height of self-deification, sinks down into the abyss of brutality and devilishness. Yes, these swarms of emigrants, in their sad and dreary state of spiritual decay, constitute a powerful call on the German governments and German nation to tremble and repent. Would that this misery were recognized as a common sin and a common guilt! O that it would penetrate our very bones and marrow! O that the entire German Church, along with abhorrence of the sin, would, at the same time, feel a Saviour's love, which led him to seek and to save the sinner, and neither slumber nor sleep till her lost sons and daughters, with penitent hearts, return again into their Father's house, from the beggarly husks of vice and impiety.

Notwithstanding all this, thanks be to God! there is no reason to despair. Paul was not cast down, when solitary and alone he wandered amid the numberless temples of the gods in Athens and Corinth, and preached the Divine foolishness of the cross to light-minded Epicureans, self-righteous Stoics and immoral worldlings; and God blessed his word with the most abundant success. The Jews were certainly, in the time of Christ, a degenerate race, and yet the Saviour came out of their midst, and his Apostles, the teachers of all centuries—and the synagogues of the dispersion in the cities of the Roman empire formed green oases in the wilderness of Heathenism and nuclei for Christian congregations. The Greeks had long sunk down from their eminence under the iron arm of the imperial Romans, and yet their literature educated the latter in humane studies and the conquered gave laws to the conquerors.

But not this alone! The circumstances mentioned present only one aspect of the picture. Besides the many unworthy representatives of the German race, there are also in America thousands of our countrymen, who, as workmen, farmers and merchants, as clergymen and scholars, belong to the most useful and esteemed citizens of the United States, and also a sufficient host of believing souls as salt to preserve the mass from corruption. The German Churches of the Reformation with

the Augsburg Confession, the Lutheran and Heidelberg Catechisms, and the rich treasures of the German hymns and liturgies, have been in existence there for a hundred years, and everywhere offer to the new emigrant a spiritual home.

It is, of course, impossible to give here a detailed description of the state of the *German-American Churches*, and I can the rather pass on, because I have attempted to do so in a book of mine, just about leaving the press. I will only say thus much: The German Evangelical Churches of the United States are yet in the first chaotic stages of development, and have to contend with innumerable troubles and difficulties, inasmuch as they are deprived of the support of religious institutions and traditions, which are the growth of ages, and are obliged to create new regulations, and govern and administer their own affairs; because there everything rests on the voluntary principle, to which the Germans, spoiled by the habit of receiving maintenance and protection from an established Church, can only become reconciled by degrees. Notwithstanding all this, their advance is steady and even very rapid. Out of their long continued lethargy and ignorance, they have awakened at last to self-consciousness and activity. They have not only doubled their numbers within the last twenty years, but have also grown in knowledge, piety and zeal, and assume already no mean position beside their English neighbors, although certainly in many things still behind the leading denominations. They possess independent scientific institutions of their own, and can thus multiply their intellectual and ecclesiastical powers every year. Indeed, they can already point to the beginnings, even if they be small, of an independent theological literature and earnest ecclesiastical movements. In spite of countless discouragements and difficulties, they present one of the most promising fields of labor, and have as much prospect of external and internal growth, as any Anglo-American denomination, or any established Church in Europe. The more they expand and are built up in piety and true culture, the more will they exert a determining influence upon the course of development in the whole American Church, work in it like a beneficial leaven, bring honor to the German name and become a real blessing to the New World.

But just in proportion to this advancement, the consciousness of the greatness and responsibility of their work and their distance from that, which they should and might be, increases also; especially in view of the immense immigration, which every year only enlarges their material and missionary field, without, at the same time, supplying the necessary spiritual force for its cultivation. They, therefore, still louder and louder cause to resound over the waves of the Atlantic, the Macedonian cry:—"Come over and help us."

3. The duty of the German Evangelical mother-Church toward her daughter in America.

In this great and difficult mission of German Christianity in the New World of freedom and the future, it is clear that the German mother-Church ought to take an active and joyful part, prompted, if not by the higher motives of duty, at least by a certain Christian ambition and her own prospective advantage. I do not speak here of the native American-German population; for these the Churches there ought themselves to provide; but of the new emigrants, who, like flocks without shepherds, have left their fatherland, and cannot possibly be cared for by them; hence the Church in which they were born, baptized and confirmed, must lose a large portion of them, unless a corresponding number of ministers emigrate along with the people.

We Protestants, and especially we Germans, are lacking in *esprit de corps*, and a conscious feeling of unity. The interests of the Church, the Body of Christ, and thus of Protestantism also, are fundamentally the same everywhere, and become more and more so in an age, when the most distant regions of the globe are brought so near together by means of communication that mock at time and space. If one member suffers, the others suffer with it; if one member rejoices, the others rejoice with it. England will continue to live in America and Australia, and from thence rule the world, when St. Paul's Cathedral has long crumbled into ruins and but a single pier of Westminster Bridge is left standing as a witness to the departed glory of the city of Two Millions. And shall German Christianity not be concerned to have itself worthily and honorably represented on the chief theatre of future history in the world

and the Church ; to have its peculiar charisms, its profound ideas, its glorious hymns, its inwardness and genial spirit maintained and made a blessing to the whole Anglo-American people ?

Here, if anywhere, a rich missionary field is opened up and a favorable opportunity afforded for the erection of enduring monuments of honor and victory. And then, do we not know, that the giving of aid in the kingdom of the spirit is reciprocal, and that every gift, sooner or later, comes back, directly or indirectly, to the giver, laden with blessings ? It is known, that the most flourishing Anglo-American Churches begin already to pay back the debt of gratitude which they owe to Europe ; that during the terrible famine of the year 1846, they sent large supplies to Roman Catholic Ireland, even in spite of religious differences. Such a time of thankful repayment will also come for the German Church in America. Remember, that what you do for her, is done, if not directly for yourselves, perchance for your own, or your children's children. For the emigration continues and will go on, and who knows if it may not yet become a necessity, yea, a Divine command to the faithful, like the exodus of the children of Israel from Egypt. No one, who has the interests of Germany at heart, can wish for such a result ; but Europe rests upon a volcano, which can at any moment break out into a new eruption, and no bayonets, no political wisdom is able to stand security for the present order of things for the space of two years.

It is true, indeed, that matters are not so desperate in America, as is sometimes represented, that the German emigrants, if they fail to carry their own ministers with them, necessarily fall back into heathenism. On the contrary, America has become to many the birth-place of the new life. The Bible, Tract and Home Missionary Societies stretch over the Germans also an arm of love and several Anglo-American Churches, especially the Methodists, have for some years labored among them with considerable success, and established a fair number of missionary congregations. We rejoice with the Apostle, if only Christ is preached. Of course this does not do away with our own duty ; it ought rather to spur us on to renewed

efforts, so that the material, that justly belongs to us, may be, if possible, retained, and contribute its part to the accomplishment of the great mission, which directly belongs to the German Evangelical Church and can be performed adequately by her alone. Yet, why should I bring further proofs for what is as clear as the light of the sun, the duty of a faithful mother, who can never forget her own child, but follows it everywhere with a heart full of love, sends up to heaven prayers and supplications for its welfare at all seasons, and beholds in it the continuation of her own life, her joy and her crown !

The sense of duty in this matter needs not to be awakened for the first time. Philanthropic societies in Germany, actuated by motives purely humane, have already taken care to provide moral regulations for the emigrants and safe-guards against extortion and cheatery of every kind, especially in the sea-ports of both countries. The need also of ecclesiastical and religious regulations in behalf of the emigrants, so that they may become a blessing to Germany and America, has long been felt, and for supplying this need, several societies have reared up ministers and school-teachers for sending out to America, and thus effected much good. It is, therefore, only required to render this sense of duty already existing, and the religious interest felt in the affairs of German emigration, more intense, deep and universal, and provide ways and means, by which this want may be best met and profitable results attained in the surest way.

We see little to hope from grand schemes for founding colonies of German Churches ; for their success is more than doubtful, because of the divisions that reign both in Europe and America. Meanwhile we must be content with doing good to individuals and multiplying the amount of intellectual and spiritual resources, by which the cause of the Gospel may be best aided to a final triumph among the Germans in America. Organization in mass, the formation of a Church-cosmos out of the American chaos of sense, we must leave to the creative activity of God and the progress of events. But the following can, and ought, to be done by Germany, in order that the emigration to America, which actually exists and continually goes

on, may be made an honor to our Church and a blessing to the Old and New World.

1. *The introduction of a farewell service for emigrants*, in which, in the presence of the interceding congregation, they will be warned by their pastor of the dangers and temptations of the journey, exhorted to remain true to the faith of their fathers and their own vows of baptism and confirmation, and provided with bibles and other good books and tracts. Such a service has already been introduced in several places in the kingdom of Würtemberg and with good effect both for those remaining behind and those departing, since the heart is peculiarly sensible to religious impressions in moments of separation.

2. *The appointment of missionaries for emigrants in places of embarkation*, especially Bremen, Hamburg, Havre and Antwerp. There are indeed in all these places agents for their material interests. Why should there not also be agents of the Church, whose special duty it shall be to keep a moral guard over the swarms of emigrants, and labor among them by all lawful means,—by private conversation, by public preaching in the church, on the streets and on shipboard, and by the distribution of Bibles, hymn-books, works on practical religion, and useful directions for new settlers? The beginnings of such an enterprise already exist.

3. *The sending out of well qualified ministers to those who have emigrated*, and especially, if possible, such as possess, along with the necessary theological culture, sound evangelical and churchly principles, energetic faith, a talent for popular speaking, practical wisdom, a tact for ruling well and organizing congregations, but above all a self-denying missionary zeal. The notion, that what is no longer fit for Europe may be good enough for America, is radically wrong. He who is not able to help himself here will fail completely yonder, where every man is measured by his powers as an individual; and if the German Church would assume an honorable position over against the Anglo-American Churches and do credit to her mother, she must be represented by a faithful ministry, well qualified, theoretically and practically, for their work.

The venerable Orphan House of Halle has won great credit

by having sent out the Fathers of the Lutheran Church, and that for the most part, worthy, able men of blessed memory, such as *Muehlenberg*, *Kunze* and *Helmuth*; and, in our times, especial unions have been formed for this purpose at Langenberg, Bremen, Stade and Berlin. I am personally acquainted with several, who have gone from the Langenberg Union, the Basel Mission-House and the Swiss Pastoral Aid Society, and here cheerfully bear testimony to the fact, that they labor, amid manifold difficulties, with great success, and have founded many flourishing congregations. How much even one man may do for America is seen in the examples of Pastor *Læhe*, who, in a certain measure, can be called the founder of the Old Lutheran Synod of Missouri, and Pastor *Spittler*, from whose missionary Institute at the Crischona near Basel a Synod has gone forth for the Germans in Texas. These Unions might be revived, strengthened and enlarged, and, if possible, other similar ones besides established, say in Frankfort, Stuttgart, Hamburg and Bremen.

The chief difficulty appears to lie in the lack of means, since enough can scarcely be obtained for the growing practical wants of Germany herself. But every new want, if only felt aright, creates also its supply, and the sending out of missionaries to the heathen-world has done no injury to our list of candidates; nay rather, the zeal for Foreign Missions has awakened new zeal for Inner Missions, and *vice versa*. Perhaps, by negotiation with the German Church Governments, there might be brought about a *temporary transfer of candidates*, who, enriched by an experience of five or ten years in America, could afterwards return home, and thus, at the same time, form so many personal links of union between the German Churches in both hemispheres.

4. *The special training of pious and gifted young men for the service of the German Church in America*, with full regard to her peculiar circumstances and wants. This can be done, either by the establishment of a particular theological school in some seaport, like Bremen or Hamburg; or in connection with institutions for foreign missions, like those of Basel and Barmen; or finally—what is the most simple and practi-

cable—by founding and supporting professorships and scholarships in the American-German Colleges and Theological Seminaries already existing, which are obliged, for want of funds, to turn away many indigent applicants. By assistance of this kind, permanent fountains of life and blessing would be opened up in these institutions and infinitely more done for the great mass, than by the contributions of single congregations toward the building of a church or similar local ends, which should rest altogether on local sympathies and be supported by them.

5. The easiest method to obtain the necessary means for the various undertakings, especially the latter, would be by raising a *voluntary collection in all the churches*, which, of course, would not exclude particular efforts in certain cases. Such a collection should, however, be repeated, from time to time, especially in countries where the emigration is the greatest. The money received might be distributed by a responsible central committee, partly to American societies of this kind, and partly to the Education Boards of the Lutheran, German Reformed and United Evangelical Churches, in proportion to the numbers of their students, for the purpose of training up preachers for the German emigrants in the Eastern sea-ports and in the Western States. If a Church diet similar to the German, is formed among these American Churches—a thing not at all impossible—the whole business can be carried on by the central committees of these two bodies. But as matters now stand, it can be accomplished with no great difficulty, through the trustees of the seminaries and the presidents of the Synods.

This proposition is not altogether new. The Established Church of Mecklenburg, by the efforts of *Dr. Kliefoth*, sent out some years ago a general collection to the rigid Lutheran Concord College in St. Louis, and the Evangelical Church of Prussia has done the same this very month, for the United Evangelical Seminary of Marthasville in the State of Missouri. These are noble deeds of love, which will hold an honorable place in the annals of church history and bring down the blessing of God on both parties. O that the entire Evangelical Church of Germany would imitate these beautiful examples,

rear for herself a glorious monument of helping love, exhibit to the world a proof of the unity of the German Evangelical Churches of the German tongue, and lay her numberless emigrants, with their children and children's children, under a perpetual debt of gratitude!

I leave it altogether to the Diet, whether to adopt these or similar propositions, whose practicability is partly at least guaranteed by experience, or to hand them over to the Central Committee for closer consideration and carrying out in due time.

6. But finally, it is a matter of great importance, to bring about a more intimate connection between the German mother-Church of Europe with her German and Anglo German daughter in America, for their mutual strengthening and encouragement in every good work. This can be best done by an occasional correspondence, introduced by a letter of fraternal salutation from the Church Diet to the German Evangelical Churches of America, as well as by an occasional exchange of delegates; and in regard to the latter, I can promise any representative of the German Church a most cordial reception from all our American German Synods.

The greatest misery and the deepest wound of the Protestant Church, next to the wide-spread apostacy from living faith, is her dismemberment into so many confessions, sects and parties. It is the devil, who sows the seeds of discord and employs against us so successfully the cunning policy of *divide et impera*. These divisions, it is true, must, in the hand of God, who knows how to bring good out of evil, contribute to the great increase of Christian powers and activities, and will at last, as negative conditions, lead to the highest unity, just as the fall of Adam was the occasion of the resurrection of Christ. But in spite of this, we must condemn them in principle, and bewail them as a common sin. Melancthon, the teacher of Germany esteemed the water of the Elbe insufficient, as a stream of tears, to give a complete expression to his grief over the dismemberment of the Evangelical Church. Now, it is very questionable, whether Protestantism as such, has the capacity and the mission, to produce an external Church organism,

possessed of complete unity; or whether the Lord himself has not rather reserved this till his second advent. At all events, however, it is the sacred duty of the Evangelical Church, as the voice of one crying in the wilderness, as a Church bearing witness by the pure word and sacraments, as the representative and guardian of personal Christianity, of direct living intercourse between the individual soul and its Saviour, to pave the way for this glorious second coming, and promote, in the most zealous manner, the free inward communion of faith and love, the unity of the spirit in the bond of peace according to the earnest exhortation of the Apostle, till the Lord, by a new reformation, or by his personal appearing in the clouds of heaven, gather his people from all the ends of the earth and create a body of such inward unity, that the colossal theocratic organism of Church and State in the Middle Ages—that fleshly anticipation of the *regnum gloriæ*—and all our boldest ideals of union and confederation will be thrown far into the shade. Thus much stands immovably firm, as sure as Christ is the truth: The day will come, when there will be but one Shepherd and one flock, when all believers will be perfectly one, as He and the Father are one.

Do not the signs of the times, the present discoveries and means of communication, point out typically and prophetically the approaching fulfillment of the precious promise and intercessory prayer of our Great High Priest? Europe and America are brought nearer together every year in the way of commerce and multifarious intercourse, and the Atlantic ocean forms now a barrier of separation scarcely greater than the Alps did formerly between Germany and Italy. The more pressing, therefore, does the exhortation of the Apostle come to us, to cherish and promote the communion of faith and love in the Lord, who is the fountain and centre of life to all believers; the exhortation, which a most noble and pious German has so beautifully clothed in poetic language:

Let us so united be,
As Thou with the Father art,
Till no more on earth we see
Sundered members dwell apart,

And alone from thy bright glow
Drink our glory like a star ;
Thus the world shall see and know
That we thy disciples are.

With this wish and prayer, I turn back again, from the dear land of my birth and home of my spirit, to severe labors for the upbuilding of the German Church in America ; and indeed in great sadness of heart, but, at the same time, in the certain expectation of a reunion, if not at a European or an American Church diet, yet in the general assembly and Church of the first-born, amid an innumerable company of angels, at the grand festival of reconciliation, for all nations and confessions in the holy city of God on high, the heavenly Jerusalem, our mother and the goal of all our hopes, I bid you an affectionate, brotherly farewell !

Lancaster, Pa.

T. C. P.